

A Study in New Testament Haustafeln

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## Preface

I gratefully acknowledge those who encouraged and advised me in this study. The Rev. Prof. Allan Barr sparked my interest in the subject, gave suggestions in the study of the material and kindly reviewed the final draft. My advisor, The Rev. R.A.S. Barbour, has been generous with his time and patient with my progress. I am grateful to him for allowing me to choose my subject, keeping me aware of important issues to be considered and generally guiding me in research. The Rev. Prof. G.W. Anderson was particularly kind in giving me the use of his library for the Jewish background to the haustafeln. Iain G. Hope of the New College Library has been most helpful in locating books and reference information. The Classics Department Library of Edinburgh University and Mr. Ronald McCail of that Department have given generous assistance by allowing me to use the Classics Library and to attend seminars on Hellenistic Greek literature.

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## Introduction

The German term "Haustafeln" designates the tables of household duties between wives and husbands, children and parents, slaves and masters, and the duty of the citizen to the state which are contained in the New Testament letters. Martin Luther called these household rules in Ephesians 5:22ff. "Christliche Haustafel" in his translation of the New Testament.<sup>1</sup> In the twentieth century these household codes were formally studied as a paraenetic tradition in the New Testament letters, being represented in Colossians 3:18ff.; Ephesians 5:21ff.; I Peter 2:13ff.; Titus 2:4-10; 3:1-8; I Timothy 2:1-15; 6:1; and Romans 13:1-7. Alfred Seeberg in 1903, Martin Dibelius in 1911 and Karl Weidinger in 1928 were first to study the "Haustafeln" as a paraenetic tradition with Jewish and Greek precedents. Later in the English-speaking world Philip Carrington and E.G. Selwyn in the 1940's studied the "Haustafeln" as one strand of paraenetic tradition in a broader context of catechetical and traditional teachings. Eventually, the term "Haustafeln" became adopted from the German into English and appeared in English with a small case letter "h", haustafeln, referring to the collective body of household codes in all the New Testament and post-apostolic letters

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1.) D. Martin Luthers, H KAINH ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ das Neue Testament unsers Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi, dergestalt eingerichtet, dass der Griechische Grund-Text und die Deutsche Uebersetzung D. Martin Luthers, III, Züllichau, in Berlegung des Waysenhauses, 1740, p.235. The Ephesians passage is the only recognized haustafeln passage appearing in Luther's translation with this title at the head of the page. Colossians 3:18 is entitled "Pflicht im hausstand und dessen ordnungen", and I Peter 2:13ff. "Pflicht der Christen".

or the codes found in each individual letter. As in other English works, this term will not appear in this thesis as "Haustafeln" but as an adopted term for the subject, haustafeln, which is to be treated as a plural noun.

With this general introduction to the haustafeln and the main subject matter of this thesis, the more specific points of subject matter and method of study are discussed in Chapter I, which describes the tasks of this thesis, and in the introductions to each chapter.<sup>2</sup>

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2.) For a summary of the thesis see pp. 25f.

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## Abbreviations

- A. & G. -- William F. Arndt and F.W. Gingrich, A Greek--English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1960.
- B-D. -- F. Blass and A. Debrunner, A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, translated from the ninth-tenth German edition by Robert W. Funk, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Charles, I,II, -- R.H. Charles, editor, The Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha in English, with Introduction and Critical and Explanatory Notes to the Several Books, I, II, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1913.
- ET-- Expository Times.
- HTR -- Harvard Theological Review.
- H. & R. -- Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, A Concordance to the Septuagint and Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament, I-III, Oxford, Clarendon Press, MDCCCVI.
- JBL -- Journal of Biblical Literature.
- Nestle -- D. Dr. Eberhard Nestle, D. Dr. Erwin Nestle and D. Kurt Aland, editors, Novum Testamentum Graece, 24 Aufl., Stuttgart, Bibelanstalt, 1960.
- NTS -- New Testament Studies.
- OCD -- The Oxford Classical Dictionary, M. Cary, J.D. Denniston, J.W. Duff, A.D. Nock, W.D. Ross, H.H. Scullard, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1964.
- OtS -- Oudtestamentische Studien.
- Rahlfs -- Alfred Rahlfs, editor, Septuaginta, Id est Vetus Testamentum Graece Iuxta Interpretes, I,II, Stuttgart, Bibelanstalt, 1959.
- S-B -- Hermann L. Strack und Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch, Exkurse zu Einzelnen Stellen des Neuen Testaments, I-IV, 2 Teil, München, C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Oskar Beck, 1928.
- TWNT e.t. -- Gerhard Kittel, editor, Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, I-VI, e.t. by G.W. Bromiley, Grand Rapids, Mich., Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1964--1968.

ZNTW -- Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.

### Corrections

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11 -- Footnotes 34, 35 and 36 read as follows:

34.) Ibid., p. 23.

35.) Ibid., p. 25.

36.) Ibid., p. 26.

65 -- There is no page which appears with this number.



## I. Haustafeln Studies in the Twentieth Century

This chapter summarizes the study of the haustafeln in the twentieth century and defines the tasks of this thesis. The study of haustafeln passages as traditional teachings was not begun until the twentieth century. German scholars were first to study the background of the tradition in what may be described as a linear approach, which traces the derivation of the haustafeln from earlier non-Christian ethics. Later, British scholars studied the place of the haustafeln tradition in a broader context of other traditional Christian instructions and defined the haustafeln tradition according to a cross-sectional approach, which is a synoptic comparison of the haustafeln passages. The haustafeln studies in the twentieth century are discussed below according to these two basic approaches, although these studies vary from each other in the finer points of procedure and conclusions. The tasks of this thesis are stated in the light of what already has been -- and remains to be -- accomplished in the study of the haustafeln tradition.

### A. Studies on the Background of the Haustafeln Tradition

In 1903 Alfred Seeberg was the first scholar to recognize the haustafeln as stemming from a pre-Christian tradition. At the beginning of the twentieth century scholars did not normally recognize the haustafeln passages in the New Testament as an adopted pre-Christian

tradition formulated into general Christian teachings, but interpreted the various tables as written by individual authors for the particular church situations to which the letters were addressed.<sup>1.</sup>

Adolf Harnack noticed a connection between the moral codes of the Didache and similar moral codes of the New Testament letters, but did not undertake the task of defining a common tradition which would underlie all the passages.<sup>2.</sup> Seeberg's work, Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit, identified a moral teaching (Sittenlehre) and a formula of belief (Glaubensformel) as general catechetical instructions with pre-Christian origins:

In unserer bisherigen Untersuchung haben wir zwei "bestimmt fixierte und gefasste Lehrstücke" kennen gelernt, "welche in gemeinfasslicher Weise solches enthielten, was einem Christen zur Seligkeit für notwendig" galt, d.h. wir haben zwei Lehrstücke kennen gelernt, auf die recht eigentlich der Name Katechismus passt. Betreffs beider Stücke gab sich, dass sie schon im Jahre 35 bei den Christen in Verwendung waren, und die Entstehung der Glaubensformel sahen wir uns genötigt, in die nächste Zeit nach Christi Tod zu verlegen. Ferner stellten wir fest, dass es in dieser Zeit auch üblich geworden ist, den sittlichen Lehrstoff, "der Wege", zum Gegenstand des Taufunterrichtes zu machen. Anders ausgedrückt: der Taufunterricht nebst dem dabei verwandten Lehrstoff der Wege wurde von den Christen aus dem Judentum herübergenommen und; jenem Lehrstück werde ein anderes spezifisch christliches Lehrstück über den Glaubensinhalt zur Seite gesetzt.

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1.) F. Hahn mentions this in his introduction to Alfred Seeberg's Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit, München: Chr. Kaiser, 1966, p. xxi, a reprint of Seeberg's first contribution to haustafeln study in 1903. Also see Karl Weidinger, Die Haustafeln: ein Stück Urchristlicher Paränese, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche, 1928, pp. 3f.

2.) This observation is made by F. Hahn (Seeberg, op. cit., p.xxi), who also cites two other scholars who recognize the haustafeln as proselyte teachings: Dobschütz and Paul Drews.

3.) Ibid., pp. 211ff.

The Glaubensformel does not deal with ethics, but the Sittenlehre contains, among other ethical teachings, the haustafeln. According to Seeberg, the haustafeln are only one part of the pre-Christian ethics assimilated by the early Christian literature from Jewish sources. The book containing Seeberg's thesis is divided into four parts. The first part discusses the moral teachings,<sup>4</sup> the second and third parts the formula of belief,<sup>5</sup> and the fourth part the acceptance of the two catechisms by the early Church.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, Seeberg was first to recognize the haustafeln passages as traditional material in his attempt to show Jewish precedents to catechetical material in the New Testament.

In regard to the haustafeln, he recognized a traditional Christian teaching behind the instructions to slaves and masters in Colossians 3:22-4:1, Ephesians 6:5-9, Didache 4:10f. and Barnabas 17:7.<sup>7</sup> The relationship of these passages to a common tradition, according to Seeberg, is direct and indisputable, as evidenced by passages in the Pastorals and I Peter. The Didache and Barnabas passages are not directly dependent on Ephesians and Colossians. All the letters reproduce an early Christian "way" of moral tradition for the slave-master relationship, as in these passages, and other domestic relationships.<sup>8</sup> Seeberg believes that it is impossible to define in detail this common

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4.) Ibid., pp. 1-44.

5.) Ibid., pp. 45-220.

6.) Ibid., pp. 221-246.

7.) Ibid., p. 37.

8.) Ibid., p. 38.

Christian tradition used by the New Testament and post-apostolic writers, because the tradition changes according to time and place and varies in each text.<sup>9.</sup>

Having located the haustafeln within a catechetical tradition of the church, Seeberg argues for Jewish origins of the whole catechetical tradition.<sup>10.</sup> He believes that soon after the death of Jesus a Christian catechism was created. The content was passed on by missionary preaching and was learned at baptism by converts. He cites evidence for the existence of these teachings in Pauline letters (Romans 6:17; 16:17; I Corinthians 4:17) and concludes from I Thessalonians 4:3-8 that the catechism contained a catalogue of vices. In addition to this the catechism included a catalogue of virtues and haustafeln. The Jewish background of this catechism is evident in exhortations of the captivity epistles and I Peter which use a basic terminology and composition of a Jewish catechism. Seeberg believes that these Jewish moral teachings were closely related to the early Christian "way" which was learned at Christian baptism and embodied in a tradition known by Jesus and Paul (before his conversion). The Christian church later adopted these codes of Jewish baptismal instructions for their own baptismal teachings.<sup>11.</sup> (In a later work, Die beiden Wege und das Aposteldekret, Seeberg distinguishes the Christian from the Jewish elements in the Christian tradition.)<sup>12.</sup> Seeberg's

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9.) Ibid., p. 39.

10.) Ibid., p. 41.

11.) Ibid., pp. 42ff., 211ff.

thesis, as presented in Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit, may be too ambitious for the evidence he presents,<sup>13.</sup> but he was first to recognize the haustafeln as evidence for a pre-Christian ethical tradition in early Christian literature.

In 1911 Martin Dibelius saw the exegetical importance of the haustafeln as an ethical tradition and applied this understanding of the haustafeln to the text of I Thessalonians 4:1.<sup>14.</sup> In the first edition of his commentary on I Thessalonians Dibelius affirms the following points about the ethical teachings in I Thessalonians 4:1ff.<sup>15.</sup> According to Dibelius, to understand these instructions, (i.) it must not be assumed that the instructions are for specific problems in a church. Consequently, it would be misleading to suppose that there was a specific problem in the church at Thessalonica for every instruction, because (ii.) the exhortations are built upon traditional rules. (iii.) The pattern for the rules in I Thessalonians is shaped by the tradition which was delivered by missionaries to the Christians living at Thessalonica. (iv.) The differences between the many re-

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12.) Ibid., pp. xxiif.; see the bibliography reference below, p.308.

13.) Weidinger, op. cit., p. 5.

14.) Martin Dibelius, Thessalonicher I/II und Philipper, 1 Aufl., Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1911, pp. 15f.

15.) Ibid., pp. 15f. See also the second edition: Martin Dibelius, An die Thessalonicher I,II, an die Philipper, 2 Aufl., Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1925, pp. 17f. I Thessalonians 4:1ff. is generally not considered to be an haustafeln passage. But Dibelius assumes that the haustafeln are one part of the teachings which are already known by the Thessalonians and are referred to by Paul as the teachings they were taught.



presentations of the New Testament haustafeln tradition indicate that the fixations of these ethical rules were only advanced to a certain degree. (v.) The question of whether a proselyte catechism underlies this moral instruction is generally difficult to answer.<sup>16</sup> The formulation of the teachings is the end product of catechetical practice which different circumstances within the churches have altered, and is not an instant codification or borrowing of pre-Christian material from one identifiable source. The literary dependence of the haustafeln tradition on pre-Christian material can only be demonstrated by known evidence. Without this evidence it can only be concluded that the haustafeln are a formulated tradition. (vi.) This codification is not exclusively the work of the early Christian church, but had occurred already in earlier Greek and Jewish moral traditions.<sup>17</sup>

In his commentary on Colossians (1927) Dibelius describes more precisely the relationship of the haustafeln to the Greek and Jewish traditions which he mentioned in his sixth point (above):<sup>18</sup>

So hat das Urchristentum in einem ganz langsam einsetzenden Prozess die Welt zu bearbeiten angefangen; gerade die Haustafeln sind geeignet, diesen Vorgang zu verdeutlichen. Sie zeigen aber doch, dass die christliche Paränese die sittlichen Familiengrundsätze griechischer Popularphilosophie und jüdischer Halacha für die Durchschnittsethik des Abendlands aufbewahrte.<sup>19</sup>

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16.) At this point Dibelius seems to be questioning Seeberg's thesis, but does not mention Seeberg by name.

17.) Dibelius, op. cit., p. 16.

18.) M. Dibelius, An die Kolosser, Epheser; an Philemon, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1927, pp. 36ff. This edition was Dibelius' first attempt to cite background material.

Christianity's eschatological message was not, in the first instance, a teaching about the responsibilities in society. The message of the imminent coming of Jesus generally caused Christians to resign themselves from social responsibilities (cf. I Corinthians 7:29) and left them unprepared for everyday practical ethics if they were to be guided by the Gospel of Jesus. When the need for a practical ethic arose, they adopted the moral instructions they already knew as popular Hellenistic ethics.<sup>20</sup> Commenting on this adoption of popular ethics, Dibelius makes the following points. (i.) The Christians borrowed the popular morality of Stoic teachings which may be illustrated from Stoic writings. (ii.) The Jewish moral propaganda, which contains the popular household codes found in Stoic writers, also influenced the haustafeln tradition, as shown from the writings of Pseudo-Phocylides and Josephus. Hellenistic Judaism borrowed and rearranged these ethics from Hellenistic rather than Palestinian sources. (iii.) With or without the influence of the Jewish rearrangement, the Christian haustafeln tradition kept the Hellenistic scheme of popular ethics. The differences between the haustafeln tradition and the popular ethics of Hellenism are understandable in the light of early Christianity. Submission to the state was inserted in the Christian scheme, because this was a pressing obligation for the Christians. The Christians did not include the worship of God as one of the moral obligations, as in the Hellenistic codes and the presentation of codes by Josephus, because it was already a fundamental moral demand. Therefore,

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19.) Ibid., p. 38.

20.) Ibid., p. 36.

the Christians edited an Hellenistic moral tradition which may be described as a Christianization of Hellenistic popular ethics.

To substantiate Dibelius' thesis,<sup>21</sup> Karl Weidinger presents evidence that the haustafeln were derived from popular moral codes in the Hellenistic world. In contrast to Seeberg's suggestion, that the haustafeln were borrowed directly from Jewish proselyte teachings, Dibelius believed that the haustafeln were adapted from popular household codes of Hellenism for the purpose of providing general ethical instructions for everyday living within the early church. According to Dibelius, the haustafeln tradition was not directly borrowed from one identifiable source, as Seeberg would suggest, but developed from a popular Hellenistic household code over a considerable period of time. Weidinger criticized Seeberg's thesis more thoroughly than Dibelius<sup>22</sup> and devoted his book, Die Haustafeln, ein Stück Urchristlicher Paränese, to the task of proving Dibelius' view:

Einen dritten Versuch zur Erklärung der Haustafeln machte endlich M. Dibelius in dem Exkurs zu Kol. 3, 18ff. (Lietzmann, Handb. z. N.T.). Er stellte die Annahme auf, die Haustafeln seien ein geläufiger Topos der Paränese, im Bedarfsfall nach eigenem Gutdünken verwendet, abgeändert oder auch neu formuliert, und stützte die Erklärung durch den Nachweis, dass in der ausserchristlichen Paränese bereits ähnliche Stücke Verwendung gefunden hatten. Damit scheint die Wesen-

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21.) It should be noted that although this review of haustafeln studies treats the work of Dibelius' Colossians commentary (1927) before Weidinger's publication (1928), Dibelius was familiar with an "Heidelberger Dissertation 'Die Haustafeln'", by Karl Weidinger, to which Dibelius may have been in debt for some of his comments on the haustafeln in his Colossians commentary.

22.) Weidinger, op. cit., p. 5.



sart der Haustafeln richtig bestimmt zu sein. Die nähere Begründung dieser These ist der Zweck dieser Arbeit. Ihren besonderen Reiz erhält sie dadurch, dass dieser Charakter eines geläufigen paränetischen Topos nicht nur durch einzelne ausserchristliche Stellen nachgewiesen werden kann; die Belegstellen sind so zahlreich, dass das Schema durch grösser Zeiträume hindurch verfolgt werden kann, so dass es einmal möglich ist, der Geschichte eines paränetischen Stückes nachzugehen.

23.

Dibelius supports his view by citing household codes in Greek and Hellenistic Jewish texts. Weidinger offers a more extensive survey of haustafeln-like ethical lists in Greek and Hellenistic Jewish texts and a detailed thesis on the origin and development of the New Testament haustafeln from these Hellenistic household codes.<sup>24</sup>

Weidinger begins his work with a theory on how the early church adopted the Hellenistic household codes.<sup>25</sup> He suggests that the moral demands of the early church eventually led Christians to adopt the popular ethics of their society. In the beginning the early Christian churches were guided by the Spirit in their choice of actions for specific situations. For example, in the letter to the Corinthians Paul does not give general rules of conduct, but only specific exhortations for specific problems within the congregation.

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23.) Ibid., p. 5.

24.) Weidinger specifically calls the household codes "Hellenistic" even though some of the authors quoted come in the Graeco-Roman period, after 31 B.C. It may be assumed that the citations from Graeco-Roman writers represent a Hellenistic popular ethic, because there is a strong resemblance between these citations and citations from Hellenistic authors.

25.) Weidinger, op. cit., chapter II, pp. 6ff.

Early congregations may have depended on general theological truths for ethical guidance, e.g. the Jews and the Gentiles are all one in Christ, but specific ethical problems frequently arose and created a need for general teachings on common everyday problems of conduct. The need for this kind of teaching became more intense with the delay of the second coming of Christ. Christians realized that the second coming would not occur in their lifetime and that they would continue to live in life-enduring relationships and conditions. For example, the woman married to a pagan husband and the slave subservient to a pagan master needed ethical guidance for their life-enduring circumstances.<sup>26</sup> Therefore the Christians' questions on ethical matters and their realization that their circumstances were **permanent** caused the church to turn to familiar Hellenistic household codes for guidance, because general theological truths were no longer adequate for resolving practical ethical problems. The church probably became familiar with the Hellenistic household codes through Hellenistic Judaism. Generally speaking, the early church learned from Hellenistic Judaism of the Diaspora, which gave the Septuagint and taught missionary methods to the Christians.<sup>27</sup> As a forerunner of Christianity, Hellenistic Judaism of the Diaspora had already integrated the household codes of popular Stoic philosophy into its proselyte teachings,<sup>28</sup> with Jewish motives.<sup>29</sup> The church grew up close to the synagogues of Dia-

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26.) Ibid., pp. 10f.

27.) Ibid., p. 13.

28.) Ibid., pp. 14f.

29.) Ibid., p. 17.

spora Judaism, learned Jewish proselyte catechisms from the synagogues and adapted these teachings for Christian use. By this means Hellenistic Judaism of the Diaspora was probably a courier of Hellenistic popular household ethics to the early Christian church. But Hellenistic Judaism of the Diaspora was by no means the only source from which the early church could have borrowed the household codes. These codes were also prevalent in Stoic popular philosophy and popular folk ethics.<sup>30</sup> Of course it is unlikely that Christian preachers and teachers learned directly from a philosopher like Epictetus or some other Stoic, but they, like the average educated man, knew the popular philosophic propaganda which included ethics.<sup>31</sup> At least the preachers and the teachers of the church would be acquainted with the household ethics as a widely known oral tradition, a sort of wisdom of the Greeks.<sup>32</sup> It is difficult to determine from which source Christianity borrowed the household codes because of their wide circulation in Hellenistic Judaism of the Diaspora, popular Stoic philosophy and popular folk ethics.

Weidinger presents evidence that the household ethics existed in these three different areas by citing various Greek and Latin texts.<sup>33</sup> Citations from Pseudo-Phocylides,<sup>34</sup> Philo<sup>35</sup> and Josephus<sup>36</sup> are pre-

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30.) Ibid., p. 19.

31.) Ibid., p. 19.

32.) Ibid., pp. 19f.

33.) Ibid., chapter IV, pp. 23ff; chapter V, pp. 27ff. See also Di-belius, Kolossier, p. 37, 1 Auf.

34.) 35.) 36.) See Corrections, supra p. vi.

sented as evidence for the household ethics in Hellenistic Judaism. Weidinger cites a much broader selection of authors<sup>37</sup>. as proof for the existence of household ethics within the popular ethics of Stoic philosophy, which taught religious, civic and domestic obligations under the category of "appropriate acts" ( τὰ καθήκοντα ). These household ethics in Stoicism may have included: devotion to the gods, duties to the fatherland, duties to elders, a portion on brotherly love and a portion on other domestic relationships. Proving the existence of an oral tradition is difficult, admits Weidinger, because written evidence may not completely record the oral traditions.<sup>38</sup> From an analysis of Stoic ethics Weidinger argues that the Stoic "appropriate acts" reflect an oral tradition. Stoic ethics contained two main parts, a theoretical section and a section of practical instructions ("Lebensgebiete"). Under the practical instructions there was a sub-section called τὸ καθήκον , which contained some religious, civic and domestic duties similar to those found in the Christian haustafeln tradition. Not all the Stoics included these practical ethics as part of their ethical philosophy, because this was not a systematic philosophy, but an addition of practical ethics to philosophical and theoretical ethics. According to the records of Diogenes Laertius and Sextus Empiricus, Zeno invented the term τὸ καθήκον for practical duties

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37.) Ibid., pp. 27ff. Weidinger cites Hierocles (Stobaeus), Musonius, Dio Chrysostom, M. Antoninus, Epictetus, Plutarch, Cicero, Zeno (Diogenes Laertius), Seneca, Horace, Polybius and Heccato, in this order.

38.) Ibid., p. 41. It may also be noted that the development of these practical ethics does not take place in the earlier Stoics, but in the later Stoics. Zeno included the category of τὸ καθήκον in his philosophy, but did not develop it in detail, judging from the evidence in Diogenes Laertius.

of his philosophy.<sup>39</sup> However, Weidinger states that Zeno did not deduce a code of practical ethics from his theoretical ethics, but borrowed some conventional social duties which circulated in Greek society as an oral tradition before Zeno.<sup>40</sup> Weidinger finds evidence for these conventional social ethics as far back as the fifth century B.C.<sup>41</sup> The principal content of these "unwritten laws" may have been the following: fear the gods, honor elders, bury the dead, be hospitable to foreigners and do not forsake the fatherland.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, Weidinger argues, the early church Christianized an ethical tradition which had been rooted in an old unwritten tradition of the Greeks, perpetuated in the ethics of Stoic philosophy and adopted by Hellenistic Judaism for baptismal teachings.

With the publication of Weidinger's work (1928) the thesis was well documented that the haustafeln had their beginnings in Greek ethics. To complete his work Weidinger included two more chapters, "Die urchristlichen Haustafeln" and "Die Verchristlichung der Haustafeln". Weidinger's significant contribution to the haustafeln study has been the thorough investigation of the Greek, especially Stoic, background to the haustafeln tradition rather than any analysis of the Christian tradition itself. Weidinger's theory on the background of the haustafeln won wide acceptance,<sup>43</sup> but this did not end the quest for other sources behind the New Testament

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39.) Ibid., pp. 44f.

40.) Ibid., p. 46.

41.) Ibid., pp. 46f.



haustafeln tradition.

David Daube has suggested that certain linguistic features of the haustafeln tradition are evidence that the haustafeln tradition was directly translated from Hebrew codes. The particular use of the participle as an imperative in the haustafeln is seen by Daube as evidence for this Jewish influence. Daube's first contribution to the study of the haustafeln (1946) appears as an appendix to Selwyn's commentary on I Peter.<sup>44</sup> In this essay he discusses the use of the participle as an imperative in Hebraic law codes, from which the Greek participle in the haustafeln texts is derived, and rejects the view of J.H. Moulton, who has affirmed that the participle as an imperative is a Hellenistic development:

It is suggested that the imperative participles of the New Testament may be translations of the Tannaitic ones. This theory would seem at least to avoid the objections that can be raised against Moulton's. First, whereas the participles adduced from the papyri are not really independent but can be all reduced to the classical, attached participle, the Tannaitic participles here analysed are unattached, like those under notice from the New Testament. Secondly, whereas the

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42.) Ibid., p. 47. Weidinger takes the haustafeln texts as closer than the Hellenistic texts to the oral tradition (p. 19).

43.) Weidinger's theory is reflected in the following works: E. Lohmeyer, Die Briefe an die Philipper, an die Kolosser und an Philemon, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1930, pp. 152ff.; W.K.L. Clarke, New Testament Problems, London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929, pp. 157ff.; Kenneth Kirk, The Vision of God, London, Longmans Green, 1931, p. 120; and others.

44.) David Daube, "Participle and Imperative in I Peter" in E.G. Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter, London, Macmillan, 1946, pp. 467ff. For criticism of Daube's theory, see H.G. Meecham, "The use of the Participle for the Imperative in the New Testament", ET, LVIII, (May, 1947), pp. 207f.; Nigel Turner, Grammatical Insights into the New Testament, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1965, pp. 167ff.

participles from the papyri occur in the concluding part of the letters, a case sui generis, the Tannaitic participles are very frequent in the Mishnah, Tosefta and Baraita. Thirdly, while the papyri can not explain the imperative adjectives of the New Testament, this theory can. Hebrew is poor in, and rather adverse to, adjectives; Greek is not. Consequently, when Hebrew rules are done into Greek, it will often be easiest to render an adverbial phrase by an adjective... The point is that this translation theory accounts not only for the presence of the imperative adjectives in the New Testament, but also for the fact, already mentioned, that they never stand by themselves but always go with imperative participles, while the later can stand by themselves... The fourth objection against Moulton's thesis is that, even if the participles from the papyri did represent imperatives, they would yet be "specific" imperatives; but the participles of the New Testament are confined to rules, general directions. There is no difficulty of this sort about the theory here advocated. The imperative participles of the Tannaitic literature are used in precisely the same way as those of the New Testament, in rules only. Fifthly and lastly, if we proceed from Moulton's assumption of a genuine Hellenistic development, it is hard to see why the imperative participles of the New Testament should be limited to one subject, social conduct -- just as hard in fact, as if we ascribe them to carelessness. On the basis of the theory submitted in the article, the problem is easily solved: we have only to suppose that some writers of the epistles, in dealing with the subject, drew on Hebrew codes.<sup>45</sup>

Daube has to reckon with the fact that there are no haustafeln-like ethical codes in Rabbinic literature which use the Hebrew participles as imperatives. On this account, he suggests that the common haustafeln code used by the New Testament writers is best understood by combining the style and content of three distinct Rabbinic writings: (i.) the Demai, containing special obligations (tithes and cleanliness) expressed in the participle; (ii.) the Aboth, containing personal forms of advice

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45.) Daube, op. cit., pp. 476ff.

on the right mode of living; (iii.) and the Derekh Eres literature, containing social duties which use the participle as an imperative to some extent. In other words, the style of the Aboth and the Demai is combined with the content of the Derekh Eres literature to produce the haustafeln tradition. In a more recent work<sup>46</sup>. Daube discusses why the participle was used as an imperative in the Tannaitic literature. (i.) The imperative was only used in laws revealed to God's people. After this literature of revelation was closed, it then became the task of the rabbis to interpret and elaborate traditional material, not to lay down judgments, statutes and commandments. (ii.) Their work became the form of legislation known as the "Halakhah", the way of a man who desires right, and employed the participle in the place of the imperative. The characteristics of the "Halakhah" are similar to those of the haustafeln. They always denote a general rule which signifies something less fundamental than revealed law, but is correct practice for all members of the community. The author continues by explaining that in New Testament times the participial imperative appeared in Derekh Eres literature. "Halakhah" corresponds to the term "derekh" or way. "Derekh" has a broader meaning than "Halakhah", signifying both an ethical conduct and the way things occur in nature. In regard to the ethical meaning, there are different ways for different men. The bad, the good, the scholarly and the citizen all have their ways of behavior, which vary according to their rank and education. But the laws of the "Derekh" literature

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46.) David Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism, London, Athlone Press, 1956, pp. 90-97.



are characteristically general rather than specific, which explains the prolific use of the participial imperative in these rules. Daube cites another linguistical feature of the haustafeln which suggests that the haustafeln were translated from Hebrew codes.<sup>47</sup> The haustafeln frequently use the "nominative of address", the article and nominative of the person addressed, instead of the vocative. The "nominative of address" occurs in other passages of the New Testament where Hebrew is translated. Just as we suppose a Hebrew translation where the "nominative of address" occurs outside haustafeln passages, Daube argues, we should take the "nominative of address" to be a translation of Hebrew within haustafeln passages.<sup>48</sup> The occurrence of these Hebraisms in the haustafeln has led Daube to conclude that the haustafeln are translated from a Hebrew code.

In the most recent publication on the haustafeln Ehrhard Kamlah sees Jewish background to the predominant haustafeln instruction: to be submissive.<sup>49</sup> Kamlah recognizes that the command "to be submissive" to the state, husbands and masters is customary, but absent in comparable Greek and Jewish codes, namely those which have been cited by Weidinger. Obviously, the New Testament haustafeln reflect the conservative, patriarchal structure of the state and household. However, when these instructions are placed within a Christian context, they acquire new meaning.<sup>50</sup> The command for the Christian to

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47.) Daube, "Participle as Imperative", pp. 482f.

48.) Criticism of this point will be discussed below. See pp. 174--183.

be submissive to the state does not stand by itself, but has a basis or motive. The state, as understood in the haustafeln, not only fulfills a political function, but also obeys the will of God. Consequently, the Christian is obedient to God by means of his obedience to the state, which Paul stresses in Romans 13. This submission to God is a fundamental motive in the haustafeln. It is also taught in I Peter, where the teaching of Christian freedom -- living as "aliens and exiles"-- increases the Christians' disinterest in the state.<sup>51</sup> The distance between Christian concerns and the concerns of the state was only bridged by the command for the Christians to take up their religion in daily conduct by submitting to the state. Also the submission of the wife and the slave reflect the customs of the day, but both the submission of wife and slave are given new meaning by the author of I Peter. The patient suffering of the slave and the quiet modesty of the wife are forms of submitting to God. Therefore, submission in the haustafeln tradition is not only to be interpreted as reflecting the conventional social customs of the day, but also the Jewish sense of humility.<sup>52</sup> The Jewish understanding of submission before God is a humility before others, which is acknowledged in James 4:6: " towards the humble show favor (Proverbs 3:34) ... therefore, submit yourselves before God". The general instructions in

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49.) E. Kamlah, " 'Υποτάσσεσθαι in den neutestamentlichen 'Haustafeln'", Verborum Veritas, ed. Otto Böcher und Klaus Haacker, Wuppertal, Rolf Brockhaus, 1970, pp. 238ff.

50.) Ibid., p. 240.

51.) Ibid., p. 241.

52.) Ibid., p. 242.

I Peter 5:5 and Ephesians 5:21 link humility with submission. I Peter 2:13 makes humility the basis for relationships with other men. This Jewish sense of humility, which is fundamental in the Christian's relationship to God and a prominent motif in early Christian paraenesis, is expressed by the Christian's submission to others. Therefore, Kamlah argues, "to be submissive" is a Christian command which is rooted in the Jewish sense of humility: to be humble before God is to be submissive before others.

To the present date, most of the background study to the haustafeln has been done in the field of Hellenistic texts. The studies of Daube and Kamlah have attempted to show the Jewish origins of the haustafeln tradition, but the works of Dibelius and Weidinger still present the major portion of evidence for the haustafeln precedents in Greek texts. Most scholars today accept Weidinger's thesis that the haustafeln were derived from pagan household codes, and that there are some Jewish elements in the haustafeln tradition.<sup>53</sup> However, in all these studies of the haustafeln which use a linear approach there is a lack of any thorough cross-sectional study of the haustafeln tradition for a comparative study with pagan and Jewish material. We next examine the haustafeln studies which have employed a cross-sectional approach.

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53.) For the acceptance of Weidinger's thesis in the most recent publication on the haustafeln see Kamlah, *op. cit.*, p. 238. Kamlah argues for the Jewish background to the main imperative of the haustafeln, "to be submissive", but recognizes the haustafeln origins in the popular moral philosophy of the Stoics. See commentaries on the New Testament haustafeln passages and the dictionaries for further references to Weidinger's thesis; *supra* p. 14, note 43.

## B. Studies on the Content of the Haustafeln Tradition

With the work of Philip Carrington, The Primitive Christian Catechism, 1940, the haustafeln are studied from a different approach.<sup>54.</sup> Seeberg, Dibelius, Weidinger, Daube and Kamlah have attempted to show the influence of Greek and Jewish moral traditions on the haustafeln. This we called the linear approach, which views the haustafeln tradition as a development from earlier Greek and Jewish material. The cross-sectional approach sees the haustafeln as a developed tradition within the church and studies the various haustafeln texts synoptically in order to define the fundamental components of the tradition itself. Carrington uses this cross-sectional approach in his study of traditional material within the New Testament letters. Although his interests go beyond the scope of the haustafeln texts, he includes these texts as representations of one aspect of a traditional catechism. Carrington suggests that the haustafeln tradition is one component of a broader scheme of baptismal teachings.<sup>55.</sup> The author defines this broader catechetical teaching<sup>56.</sup> by investigating the common teachings from Colossians, Ephesians and I Peter and defining

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54.) J.W.C. Wand, The General Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude, London, Methuen, 1934, pp. 3ff., gives a short discussion of haustafeln and compares the texts synoptically, but makes no attempt to provide a definition of the haustafeln tradition. See Philip Carrington, The Primitive Christian Catechism, Cambridge, University Press, 1940, pp. 37ff., 49ff., 63ff., and the chart on pp. 41f.

55.) Carrington, op. cit., chapter 9.

56.) Ibid., pp. 31ff. This is undertaken after an explanation of the features in Jewish proselyte teachings (chapters 1 & 2) and the independence of I Peter from Pauline letters (chapter 3).

a four point catechism. The four points, which follow a similar sequence and vocabulary<sup>57</sup> in each of the letters,<sup>58</sup> are designated by phrases which come from the passages: (i.) "Wherefore putting off all evil" ("Deponentes"), (ii.) "Submit yourselves" ("Subiecti"), (iii.) "Watch and pray" ("Vigilate") and (iv.) "Resist the devil" ("Resistite"). Carrington's work is helpful in understanding the wider teaching context of the haustafeln tradition and the vocabulary of the haustafeln tradition. The common verbs associated with the haustafeln texts, notes Carrington, are ὑποτάσσειν , and ταπεινοῦν ,<sup>59</sup> which belong to the tradition and have the "appearance of being derived from Jewish tōrāh."<sup>60</sup> Concerning the main imperative, "to be submissive", Carrington suggests that "it is a distinctive feature of a type of exhortation which demands the subordination of the individual to a sacred social order and its leaders under God."<sup>61</sup> Carrington notes that the verb "to be humble" is closely associated with "to be submissive" in I Peter, James and I Clement, and is used with "to exalt" in other New Testament passages, a connection which may refer to a well-known "aphorism of Jewish tōrāh (cf. Eccus. 1:30)."<sup>62</sup>

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57.) Ibid., chapters 4 and 5 respectively.

58.) According to Carrington, I Peter is divided at 4:11f. into two parts due to a repetition of material. The whole letter is treated as two letters: I Peter A and I Peter B.

59.) Ibid., pp. 49f. The close association of these words is important in Kamlah's article, which is summarized above.

60.) Ibid., pp. 50f.

61.) Ibid., p. 50.

62.) Ibid., p. 51.



As Carrington, E.G. Selwyn uses the same cross-sectional approach for studying the catechetical material in the New Testament Letters<sup>63</sup>. and includes a broader compass than the field of haustafeln study. In his introductory comments on the method of his study he describes the use of "Formgeschichte" as applied to the Epistles:

As applied to the Gospels, Formgeschichte begins with the finished documents and their acknowledged sources, and works downwards into the strata of the underlying tradition represented by the Acts and the Epistles. Here, on the other hand, we begin on the level of these earlier strata, and are in fact driving a side-shaft into the shaft already sunk. ... What we shall be dealing with here is not the filtration of materials which ended in the Gospels as the ripe fruit of the genealogical tree, but rather a number of collateral relationships which present themselves to view before-- or largely before -- that point is reached.<sup>64</sup>.

Selwyn intends to prove that I Peter is not dependent on the Pauline epistles at a number of points, as sometimes supposed, but is representing traditional teachings widely known in the early church.

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63.) Ibid., p. 367.

64.) Ibid., pp. 367f. C.H. Dodd, "The Primitive Catechism and the Sayings of Jesus", New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of Thomas Walter Manson, ed. A.J.B. Higgins, Manchester, University Press, 1953, pp. 106-118, writes an article which is relevant to the point made by Selwyn. Dodd suggests that the primitive catechism identified by Carrington and Selwyn "served as a channel for the transmission of the sayings of Jesus" (p. 107). By "sampling" texts, Dodd illustrates how this early catechetical material, which contains more than the haustafeln, could be such a channel: "The catechetical instruction of the early church was largely based upon early models, partly Jewish, partly Hellenistic. It was molded by distinctively Christian motives partly drawn from the teachings of Jesus as it was remembered at an early date. It was a convenient framework within which remembered sayings could be organized for teaching purposes, and so provided an occasion for preserving the sayings rather than the means by which they were preserved. In any case it does not appear to be the main channel through which the tradition came down, but presupposes an independent tradition upon which it could draw and by which it was influenced." (p. 116.)

This is shown by identifying the material in I Peter with a common body of Christian teachings, including the haustafeln, which are found in other epistles. As in Carrington's work, this study is helpful in understanding the wider context of the traditional material, of which the haustafeln is one part, and the vocabulary and themes of the tradition itself. The results of this study are too numerous to summarize in this brief synopsis. From a comparison of haustafeln texts there emerges a sequence of duties for different classes of people, e.g. husbands, wives, children, fathers, each with their own traditional vocabulary and themes, upon which New Testament writers build more elaborate instructions. Selwyn distinguishes three levels of material in the haustafeln of I Peter, an analysis which also applies to other haustafeln passages of the New Testament:

At the top are the superstructures of theology which St. Peter builds on the teachings about slaves and St. Paul on the passages about wives and husbands and about civic obedience. These are products of the thought of the inspired writers individually. Below these, and occupying the middle part of the scene, are outstanding elements of common teaching which are indisputably Christian... (and) what appears to be the original substratum, a fusion of Jewish and Gentile thought.<sup>65</sup>

This is a useful analysis of the haustafeln passages for this thesis, where the New Testament haustafeln tradition is defined.<sup>66</sup>

## C. Conclusions

This survey of haustafeln studies in the twentieth century shows

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65.) Selwyn, op. cit., pp. 437f.

that the main studies of the haustafeln<sup>67</sup>. have taken two approaches. (i.) Seeberg, Dibelius, Weidinger, Daube and Kamlah have attempted to demonstrate the influence of pagan and Jewish teachings on the haustafeln tradition. This we called the linear approach. (ii.) Not until the time of Carrington and Selwyn was there a synoptic comparison of the haustafeln texts in order to determine the place of the haustafeln in a broader catechetical scheme and the content of the haustafeln tradition itself. This we called the cross-sectional approach. However, there is no haustafeln study which combines the linear with the cross-sectional approach. Those using the linear approach have some ideas on the content of the haustafeln tradition, and those using the cross-sectional approach have some ideas of haustafeln origins, but scholars using one approach or the other fail to combine the two into one study. It would appear that much would be gained by the combination of the two approaches into one study. A descriptive analysis (or cross-sectional study) of the haustafeln would provide a basis for a comparative analysis (or linear study) with possible Greek and Jewish precedents. This combination would be a means

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66.) See Chapter II of this thesis, "The New Testament Haustafeln Tradition", pp. 27ff.

67.) There is one work unavailable to me during the writing of this thesis: D. Schroeder, Die Haustafeln im Neuen Testament, (Hamburg Diss.), 1959. Schroeder exegetes the New Testament haustafeln passages. But it is unlikely that he combines a linear and cross-sectional approach in an effort to define exact haustafeln precedents in Greek and Jewish texts. See H.D. Wendland, "Zur sozioethischen Bedeutung der neutestamentlichen Haustafeln", Die Leibhaftigkeit des Wortes, Festschrift für A. Köberle, 1958, pp. 34-46, for some points on the theology involved in the haustafeln passages.



of distinguishing the Greek from the Jewish elements within the haustafeln tradition and clarifying the vague notion that the haustafeln tradition contains a "fusion of Jewish and Gentile thought."

#### D. The Tasks of This Thesis

This thesis has three tasks. The first task is to combine the linear and cross-sectional approaches to the study of the haustafeln in order to clarify which elements of the tradition are either Greek or Jewish. Chapter II uses the cross-sectional approach to describe the haustafeln tradition according to its form, instructions and motives, by comparing the various haustafeln texts. This description is a basis for a comparative study between the haustafeln tradition and Greek and Jewish precedents in chapters III and IV. Chapter III analyzes and compares the popular household codes of Stoicism to the haustafeln according to the three point analysis. Chapter IV does the same with Hellenistic Jewish household codes. Haustafeln studies have tended to concentrate on the haustafeln origins in Greek and Hellenistic Jewish writings because there are no haustafeln-like ethical codes in Palestinian Judaism, as there are in Greek and Hellenistic Jewish writings. Chapter V explores the background of Palestinian Judaism by comparing the instructional and motivational themes of the haustafeln tradition to parallel themes in Palestinian Judaism. The haustafeln tradition did not originate from one easily-located source, but a wide range of Hellenistic and Palestinian Jewish sources. The

combination of the cross-sectional and linear approaches helps locate the sources from which the haustafeln form, instructions and motives were borrowed or developed, and clarifies which elements of the haustafeln tradition are Greek and which are Jewish. The second task of this thesis is to discuss the meaning of the submissive ethic in the haustafeln: Chapter VI, "The Meaning of Submission in the Haustafeln". Chapter VII, "Conclusions", summarizes the conclusions of chapters II to VI and evaluates these conclusions in regard to the two first tasks of this thesis. The third task of this thesis is to give a contemporary interpretation of the haustafeln submissive ethic, which is taken up by Chapter VIII, "An Interpretation of the Submissive Ethic for Today". This chapter takes the conclusions of Chapter VI, what the submissive ethic meant in the haustafeln, as a basis for understanding what submission may mean to the church today. As an epilogue to the main body of the work, this interpretive chapter comes after the conclusions.

## II. The New Testament Haustafeln Tradition

This chapter defines the underlying tradition of the New Testament haustafeln texts. The New Testament haustafeln passages are composed of both traditional material, which was familiar to the New Testament writers, and the embellishments of the tradition, which were added by the individual authors of the epistles.<sup>1</sup> It is generally understood that the New Testament writers adapted the traditional material for their own purposes. A synoptic comparison of the New Testament passages illustrates the common characteristics, words, and motifs of the underlying tradition as distinct from the additions of the individual authors.<sup>2</sup> The following definitions of the haustafeln tradition describe these characteristics according to three categories: forms, instructions and motives. The study of the haustafeln form is concerned with the (a.) sequence of duties and (b.) the verbal structure of duties for each class of people addressed.<sup>3</sup> (ii.) The discussion of the haustafeln instructions studies the particular exhortations for each class of people. (iii.) An inquiry into the haustafeln motives studies those motives explicitly written in

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1.) Supra p. 23, n. 65.

2.) The most thorough synoptic charts of the New Testament haustafeln are given in Selwyn, op. cit., pp. 422ff.

3.) Throughout this thesis the term "duties" refers to the entire haustafeln teaching for a particular class of people (including the address, instruction and motives); the term "instructions" refers to the imperatives (in the various forms); and the term "motives" refers to the reasons given for the haustafeln instructions. Therefore, "duties" is the most inclusive term.

the haustafeln for each class of people. The comparison of the haustafeln passages according to these three categories discloses some common features of the haustafeln texts which are probable characteristics of the underlying tradition.<sup>4.</sup>

Some preliminary remarks on the relationship of the haustafeln texts need to be made before defining the haustafeln tradition. This chapter defines the traditional material by noting the frequency of words and motifs in the different haustafeln passages according to each duty. As a general rule, the more frequently a phrase or motif occurs in the various duties, the more probable it is that the phrase or motif occurs within the underlying tradition, which was familiar among the New Testament writers. However, if a phrase or motif is repeated in different haustafeln texts because some texts have a literary dependence on others, the phrase or motif cannot be cited as a probable characteristic of the tradition. Its presence in the haustafeln texts may not be due to the use of a common tradition by two or more authors. The phrase or motif may be repeated by an author who has copied another author. Therefore, this method of defining the haustafeln raises the questions of literary dependence of Ephesians on Colossians, of I Peter on Colossians and of I Peter on Romans. Concerning the Colossians-Ephesians haustafeln, the following points may be made about their bearing on any definition of the haustafeln

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4.) The haustafeln tradition is also evident in the post-apostolic fathers. For references see Martin Dibelius, Thessalonicher I/II und Philipper, Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1911, pp. 15f.; Karl Weidinger, op. cit., pp. 50ff.; and below pp. 166f.

tradition. The arrangement of the haustafeln duties and the verbal parallels of the Colossians-Ephesians haustafeln are due to the literary dependency of Ephesians on Colossians,<sup>5</sup> and not the independent use of a common tradition by two different authors. Consequently, (i.) the repetition of the Colossians haustafeln in Ephesians does not increase the probability of the Colossians haustafeln being closer to the underlying tradition. On the other hand, the brief and close-knit form of the Colossians haustafeln suggests that it was a close rendering of the underlying tradition, because the tradition was probably transmitted in a terse formula like the one in Colossians 3:18ff. All other haustafeln texts, including Ephesians, augment (and edit) the brief form of the haustafeln found in Colossians.<sup>6</sup> On this account the Colossians haustafeln have to be respected as a near representative of the underlying tradition.<sup>7</sup> (ii.) If a phrase or motif occurs within the Colossians-Ephesians haustafeln and also within the I Peter haustafeln, it probably is a characteristic of the tradition. The proposed arguments for the liter-

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5.) C. Leslie Mitton, The Epistle to the Ephesians, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1951, pp. 190ff., gives a thorough account of this dependency in the entire book. Particular attention is paid to the haustafeln in the pages cited here.

6.) The only exception is Romans 13:1-7. It will be discussed below how the New Testament writers added comments to the tradition in compliance with epistolary themes, e.g. unity in Ephesians. The simple haustafeln in Colossians represent only domestic relationships. Other haustafeln include civic obedience and exclude the reciprocal duties of superiors. There are some instances where the Colossians haustafeln are not the closest rendering of the tradition; cf. the discussions on Colossians in this chapter.

7.) If Colossians precedes Ephesians and I Peter, it is the earlier representation of the tradition. It is generally assumed that Ephesians presupposes Colossians (W.G. Kümmel, Introduction to



ary dependency of I Peter's haustafeln on Ephesians 5:21ff. are not convincing. Mitton argues,<sup>8</sup> if I Peter's haustafeln are dependent on the haustafeln in Ephesians, I Peter would verbally correspond to Ephesians rather than Colossians where Ephesians differs from Colossians, which is closer to the underlying tradition. A comparison of the haustafeln texts indicates that this happens in two places. (a.) In both I Peter and Ephesians the wives are instructed to submit to τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν, as opposed to τοῖς ἀνδράσιν in Colossians 3:18. However, τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν is also used in the haustafeln text of Titus 2:5. In this case Colossians is deviating from the traditional wording represented by I Peter, Titus and Ephesians. In the duty for slaves (b.) both I Peter and Ephesians use a form of the noun φόβος for "respect" towards masters, as opposed to the use of the participle φοβούμενοι in Colossians 3:22 for "respecting" masters. But the parallel between I Peter and Ephesians in this instance is not convincing, because I Peter does not use the noun φόβος in the same construction as Ephesians. The most obvious explanation for these similarities between the haustafeln of I Peter and Ephesians is the common use of the haustafeln tradition. (iii.) If a character-

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the New Testament, London, SCM Press, 1966, p. 257.) If I Peter is placed in the early sixties (Selwyn, op. cit., p. 62), it is not likely to have preceded Colossians, which was probably written by Paul in either Rome or Caesarea. Romans 13:1-7 is the earliest haustafeln text.

8.) Mitton, op. cit., pp. 190ff., states that a comparison of I Peter 2:18; Ephesians 6:5 and Colossians 3:22 would not suggest literary interdependence, but a similar code influencing all three, p. 192. Yet he concludes: "If a church code is ultimately responsible for the similarities between Ephesians and I Peter, it must have influenced Ephesians through Colossians. If, however, the same code has influenced I Peter direct, it should mean that I Peter stands closer to Colossians than Ephesians. But this is in no case true.

istic of the haustafeln in I Peter is repeated in Romans 13:1-7, it is probably a characteristic of the underlying tradition. Several scholars<sup>9</sup>. have advocated the dependency of I Peter on Romans, citing verbal and theological parallels between the two epistles. However, the work of Philip Carrington<sup>10</sup>. and E.G. Selwyn<sup>11</sup>. have cast doubts on this theory.<sup>12</sup>. Passages of Romans and I Peter showing close verbal agreement<sup>13</sup>. indicate that the authors of both letters are referring to the same passages of the Septuagint<sup>14</sup>. or reflecting liturgical<sup>15</sup>. and paraenetic<sup>16</sup>. traditions. Other theological parallels between the two letters<sup>17</sup>. are identified by E.G. Selwyn as traditional material.<sup>18</sup>. The Common traditional material in both letters makes the

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Where Ephesians differs from Colossians, I Peter resembles Ephesians more closely than Colossians", p. 196.

9.) W. Sanday and A.C. Headlam, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, Edinburgh, T.& T. Clark, 1907, pp. lxxivf; B.H. Streeter, The Primitive Church, London, Macmillan, 1929, p. 120; A.H. McNeile, An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament, 2nd edition revised by C.S.C. Williams, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1960, p. 216; see Kümmel, Introduction, p. 297, for a discussion of this view.

10.) Supra pp. 20ff.

11.) Supra pp. 22ff.

12.) A. Wikenhauser, New Testament Introduction, trans. Joseph Cunningham, New York, Herder and Herder, 1958, p. 503; E. Lohse, "Paränese und Kerygma im I Petrusbrief", ZNTW, XLV, (1954), p. 74.

13.) Sanday and Headlam, op. cit., p. lxxiv, Romans 9:25 and I Peter 2:10; Romans 9:32f. and I Peter 2:6-8; Romans 12:1 and I Peter 2:5; Romans 12:2 and I Peter 1:14.

14.) Romans 9:25, I Peter 2:10, cf. Hosea 2:23; 1:10; Romans 9:32f., I Peter 2:6-8, cf. Isaiah 28:16 and 8:14f.

15.) For Romans 12:1 and I Peter 2:5 see Selwyn, op. cit., pp. 402ff.

16.) Sanday and Headlam, op. cit., p. lxxiv, cite Romans 12:2, I Peter

dependence of I Peter on Romans improbable.<sup>19</sup> (iv.) The texts of I Peter 5:1-5 and I Timothy 2:1-15 are indirect evidence for the nature of the underlying tradition of the domestic haustafeln code. Both these texts indicate that the haustafeln duties were applied to classes of people within the church rather than the home.<sup>20</sup> On this account, J.W.C. Wand separates the haustafeln material of I Peter into two distinct codes, one for domestic relationships and one for relationships within the church.<sup>21</sup> In some instances, I Peter 5:1-5 and I Timothy 2:1-15 are probably derivatives of the haustafeln tradition. In a manner of speaking, they are one step removed from the traditional domestic code, which this chapter attempts to define. Consequently, the instructions and motives within these passages are

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1:14; cf. Selwyn, I Peter, p. 402.

17.) Sanday and Headlam, op. cit., pp. lxxiv f., cite the following passages of similar thought: Romans 12:3,6 and I Peter 4:7-11; Romans 12:9f. & I Peter 1:22; Romans 12:16ff. and I Peter 3:8f. and the haustafeln passages.

18.) Selwyn, op. cit., pp. 370, 403, 408 and 416.

19.) This is Kümmel's conclusion (op. cit., p. 297). Beare, I Peter, 2nd revised Ed., London, Macmillan, 1959, p. 25, without acknowledging traditions shared by I Peter and Romans, believes that the author of I Peter (not St. Peter) was imbued with St. Paul's works so that he uses Pauline ideas "without conscious search".

20.) It appears from the several parallels between the domestic code and the ecclesiastical code that the ecclesiastical code grew out of the domestic code and eventually coexisted with the domestic code.

21.) J.W.C. Wand, Commentary on the General Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude, London, Methuen and Co., 1934, p. 7. There is evidence that I Peter 5:2ff. and its parallels represent an early Christian instruction for officers within the church.

not direct evidence for characteristics of the domestic code. These points on the interdependence of the haustafeln texts and the dependence of haustafeln texts on a common tradition have to be kept in view regarding any definition of the haustafeln tradition.

#### A. The Haustafeln Form

This section discusses two aspects of the haustafeln form: the sequence and the structure of the haustafeln duties. The sequence of the duties deals with the order in which the instructions (and their accompanying motivations) are arranged. The structure of the haustafeln duties entails the syntactical elements of the individual duties for each class of people.

The complete sequence of the haustafeln duties in the underlying tradition is indeterminable, because of the various arrangements in the New Testament haustafeln texts. Most of the haustafeln duties begin with a direct address to a particular class of people for whom the instructions are intended, e.g. "slaves, obey your masters..." or "husbands, love your wives...". The general duty for the doing of good and the duty for civic obedience, both of which are intended for all Christians, do not have an address. The duties directed to specific classes of people and those to all Christians come in various arrangements. Except for the identical order of duties in the Colossians-Ephesians haustafeln, all the haustafeln texts present a different sequence. It is difficult to determine which sequence of duties is closest to the order of duties in the underlying tradition.<sup>22</sup> The order of

duties in I Peter and Titus differ from each other and from the Colossians-Ephesians scheme. Even the order of the three duties in I Timothy<sup>23</sup> does not follow the arrangement of the other lists. A tabular comparison of these lists illustrates this variety of orders:<sup>24</sup>

<u>Col.-Eph.</u>	<u>I Peter</u> <sup>25</sup>	<u>I Timothy</u>	<u>Titus</u>	<u>Romans</u>
a.) general	a.) general	e.) civic	b.) νέας	a.) general
b.) γυναῖκες	e.) civic	b.) γυναῖκες	f.) νεωτέρους <sup>26</sup>	e.) civic
b'.) ἄνδρες	d.) οἰκέται	d.) δοῦλοι	d.) δούλους	
c.) τέκνα	b'.) γυναῖκες		e.) civic	
c'.) πατέρες	b'.) ἄνδρες			
d.) δοῦλοι	a.) general			
d'.) κύριοι				

Before any conclusions can be reached about the order of duties in the underlying tradition, something must be said about the reciprocal duties for husbands, fathers and masters. These reciprocal duties are only stated in the Ephesians-Colossians haustafeln, ex-

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22.) Selwyn, op. cit., p. 425, takes the Colossians-Ephesians order to be the closest to the tradition.

23.) The duties in I Timothy correspond to the domestic duties according to the letters in the following tabulation.

24.) The use of the "nominative of address" in the haustafeln will be discussed at length in the chapter on Jewish influence. It should be noted here that each class of people is preceded with the article and written in the nominative case.

25.) Other duties in the I Peter arrangement include relationships within the church, cf. I Peter 5:1-5.

26.) The mention of νεωτέρους in this passage is taken to mean "young men" in the community or household. The same word in I Peter 5:5 and I Timothy 5:1 refers to "young men" in the church.



cept for the duty of the husbands to wives in I Peter 3:7,<sup>27</sup> which indicates that this duty was in the haustafeln tradition.<sup>28</sup> The other reciprocal duties for fathers and masters occur only in the Colossians-Ephesians haustafeln.<sup>29</sup> However, the Colossians text is to be respected as resembling the underlying tradition, and the reciprocal duties themselves are consistent with the general teachings of good works.<sup>30</sup> The general instructions for doing good imply responsibility on the superiors, for whom there were probably traditional instructions as found in the Colossians-Ephesians haustafeln. Of course, when it comes to the role of the husband, father or master, it is not practical to instruct them to submit to their subordinates, cf. Eph. 5:21. Instead, reciprocal obligations of love, kindness and fairness are to be shown towards subordinates. If these reciprocal duties are integral to the haustafeln tradition, the sequence of duties in the tradition probably followed in this order: general instructions, instructions for civic obedience and domestic instructions for γυναῖκες and ἄνδρες,<sup>31</sup> τέκνα and πατέρες, and δοῦλοι and κύριοι.<sup>32</sup>

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27.) Selwyn, op. cit., p. 422, believes that responsibilities for civic authorities are implied in the instructions for civic obedience (I Peter 2:13-17; Romans 13:1-7), because civic authority comes from God (cf. Wisdom 6:1-3). This could have been an implication in the tradition, but it is doubtful that there was any written duty for rulers.

28.) Supra pp. 29f.

29.) It is not clear why some New Testament writers exclude the reciprocal duties. See Kirk, Vision, p. 126, n. 2, for reasons why the author of I Peter would not have included the duty for parents.

30.) Kamlah, op. cit., pp. 238ff., argues that the whole haustafeln tradition teaches a humility before God, which is not limited to subordinates but also applicable to superiors.

The typical structure of the traditional haustafeln duty consists of an address to the person instructed, e.g. αἱ γυναῖκες , an instruction and a motive. In the haustafeln texts the duties follow this structure, except for those instructions for all Christians (general and civic instructions) and those within the text of Titus.<sup>33.</sup> As mentioned above, the instructions for the entire Christian community omit an address before the instructions or motives.<sup>34.</sup> The duties in the letter of Titus deviate from the usual haustafeln structure, because they are not written to the people for whom the haustafeln are intended. In this instance they are written to church leaders who are to teach young wives, young men, slaves and all Christians to be submissive to their superiors and the state. In Titus the classes of people in the haustafeln are written in the accusative case, as those to be taught, and the instructions are in the infinitive form. However, the traditional haustafeln duties must have circulated in the structure most common to the haustafeln texts: a nominative of address, instruction and motive.

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31.) Νέας in Titus corresponds to the duty for wives. The evidence for a duty addressed to νεώτεροι in the domestic code is too slight to hypothesize an instruction for them in the tradition. In Titus 2:6 it is constructed in parallel with νέας of 2:4. The use of νεώτεροι in I Peter 5:5 suggests that it was an address in the church code.

32.) These duties only occur in the Colossians-Ephesians haustafeln in their entirety. There is some record of reciprocal duties in post-biblical letters (Selwyn, op. cit., p. 436.)

33.) For haustafeln that follow this structure, see the haustafeln in Colossians, Ephesians, I Peter and I Timothy, noting the following exceptions: Ephesians 5:22 takes its verb from verse 21 and Colossians 3:19 does not have a motive.

34.) Ephesians 5:21 and I Peter 3:8 (general instructions) do not have motives.

In summary, the following points may be made about the form of the traditional haustafeln. Only some general conclusions may be made about the sequence of people addressed, because the New Testament haustafeln texts do not follow a consistent order of duties.

(i.) There is no evidence that the traditional duties were transmitted in one fixed order. If one set pattern existed, the New Testament writers did not slavishly reproduce the order. (ii.) Some general instruction on the doing of good preceded the civic and domestic duties. (iii.) The civic duty, which comes first in the lists of I Peter and I Timothy, probably preceded the domestic duties. (iv.) The duties for wives and husbands preceded the duties for children and fathers, and slaves and masters respectively. (v.) Where reciprocal duties are mentioned, the duty of the subordinate is followed by the duty of the superior. (vi.) Concerning the form of the duties' structure, the formal elements basically consisted of a nominative of address, instruction and motive.

#### B. The Haustafeln Instructions and Motives<sup>35</sup>.

Before discussing the instructions and motives of the particular haustafeln texts, two errors in interpreting the haustafeln must be recognized. First, we cannot interpret the haustafeln as answers to

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<sup>35</sup>. It is convenient to study the haustafeln motives and instructions together rather than separately, in order to give a more unified perspective of the haustafeln content per each duty. It should also be noticed that the general motive and the motive for slaves and masters are closely aligned to the instructional theme of doing good.

specific problems within a congregation, because the haustafeln tradition was not formulated for a specific church. For example, the duty of civic obedience in Romans 13:1-7 does not imply that the Christians in Rome were instigating a civic rebellion.<sup>38</sup> The haustafeln are general ethical teachings which do not answer specific problems. A commentator is on surer grounds if he understands congregational problems of the New Testament churches according to the specific teachings intended for a particular church, e.g. as in I and II Corinthians. Secondly, motives for an instruction in one letter cannot be taken as motives for the same instruction in another letter.<sup>39</sup> The motive for any instruction has to be taken from the context in which the instruction is given, the immediate haustafeln passage. Even if the author is writing the same instruction in two different letters, he may present each instruction with its own distinct motive. For example, if Paul wrote I Timothy,<sup>40</sup> he explicitly states a motive for civic obedience in I Timothy which is different from the motive in Romans 13:1-7. Each particular haustafeln passage must be understood with its own explicit motives. Concerning the purposes of this thesis, the first error denies the traditional nature of the haustafeln and avoids a clear definition of the tradition. The

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38.) For examples of this error, see W. Lock, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles, Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1924, p. 151; E.F. Scott, The Pastoral Epistles, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1936, p. 68.

39.) C.K. Barrett, The Pastoral Epistles, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1963, p. 139, explains the basis for submission to the state by means of the concept of the state found in Romans 13:1-7.

40.) There are strong arguments against Pauline authorship; Lock, op. cit., pp. XXVff., who also presents the argument for Pauline authorship; Kümmel, op. cit., pp. 261.; Barrett, op. cit., p. 7. Kelly, Pastoral Epistles, p. 8, believes Paul was the original writer of the epistle.

second error assumes too much from the haustafeln texts and leads one to a definition of the haustafeln tradition based on unwarranted assumptions.

# 1. General Instructions

Carrington, Selwyn and Kamlah have pointed out that the haustafeln teach a general duty of humility for all Christians. Carrington was first to note the presence of "ταπεινοῦν" in the haustafeln instructions and to assign it to the haustafeln tradition.<sup>41</sup> He cites the frequent association of "ταπεινοῦν" with "ὑποτάσσειν" in I Peter 5:5f., James 4:6 (Proverbs 3:34) and I Clement.<sup>42</sup> Selwyn has taken the same New Testament passages as evidence for a "duty of reciprocal humility" and a "duty of humility towards God" in the haustafeln code,<sup>43</sup> as distinct from a "general duty of humility" represented by I Peter 3:8; Colossians 3:12 and Ephesians 5:21.<sup>44</sup> Kamlah argues that the haustafeln tradition taught a submission to others as the implementation of humility before God, citing the association of humility with subordination in I Peter 5:5 and James 4:6ff.<sup>45</sup> The main bur-

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41.) Supra p. 21.

42.) Carrington, op. cit., pp. 50f.

43.) Selwyn, op. cit., p. 423.

44.) Ibid., p. 423.

45.) Kamlah, op. cit., p. 242.



den of proof for the use of "ταπεινοῦν" in a haustafeln general duty of humility rests on the passages from I Peter (3:8; 5:5f.) and James (4:6f.) which rely on the Septuagint version of Proverbs 3:34.<sup>46.</sup> But this is slight evidence. It is difficult to bring in James as evidence for a common haustafeln tradition of the domestic code. At best, James gives some general teachings (4:6,7,10), but does not mention the specific relationships of the household. It has been noted that I Peter 5:1-5 probably represents some common teachings on church order,<sup>47.</sup> which were derived from the haustafeln tradition. On this account, the instructions in I Peter 5:1-5 are indirect evidence for the haustafeln domestic code. This leaves I Peter 3:8 as the only proof for the presence of a general duty of humility in the haustafeln tradition which uses "ταπεινοῦν". There are other general instructions (Colossians 3:12 and Ephesians 5:21)<sup>48.</sup> but there is a lack of any significant verbal parallels between them to suggest that there were any general instructions in the tradition.<sup>49.</sup> Colossians 3:12 has a likeness to other traditions in the New Testament letters. Ephesians 5:21, the only passage without parallels outside the haus-

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46.) I Peter 3:8 shows no direct use of Proverbs 3:34, but reflects a different kind of ethical teaching (the virtues to be "put on") than the haustafeln.

47.) supra, pp. 32f.

48.) Selwyn, op. cit., p. 423, cites Colossians 3:12.

49.) Colossians 3:12 is parallel to I Peter 4:1 and Ephesians 4:32 (Selwyn, op. cit., pp. 394f.), which suggests that it was part of a code of "negative implications and renunciations". I Peter 3:8 is parallel to I Thessalonians 4:9 and Romans 12:10 (Selwyn, op. cit., pp. 409f.), which suggests that it represents a "substratum of catechumen virtues".

afeln, was probably added to the tradition by the author of Ephesians who adapted the participial imperative from the instructions for wives.<sup>50</sup> Despite the lack of any verbally definable general instruction for humility in the tradition, the haustafeln passages sometimes teach (Ephesians 5:21 and I Peter 3:8; 5:5) and generally imply a humility for all Christians which has different implications for each class of people. The haustafeln tradition may have expressed in specific social relationships the humility which was taught in other traditional instructions for all Christians.<sup>51</sup>

There are some teachings on the "doing of good" which are addressed to all Christians and are closely associated with the haustafeln duties for specific relationships. It seems more than coincidental that both the instructions in I Peter 2:13-17 and Romans 13:1-7 are preceded by instructions for the doing of good (I Peter 2:12; Romans 12:17-21) and that the haustafeln in I Peter are concluded by a general admonition for all to do good (I Peter 3:8-12), among other exhortations. A comparison of Romans 12:17-21 and I Peter 3:8-12 indicates that there was probably some general traditional instruction for all Christians to do good as opposed to repaying evil for evil:

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50.) The instruction for women in Ephesians 5:22 does not have an imperative and must rely on the general rule (5:21) for its verb. It is likely that the traditional haustafeln instructions for women had a participial imperative, which, in this passage, was adapted to the masculine plural for the general rule.

51.) For example, see Selwyn, op. cit., pp. 415ff., for traditional teachings on church order and unity which are based on love and humility.

Romans 12:17-21

μηδενὶ κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἀποδι-  
δόντες· προνοούμενοι καλὰ ἐνώ-  
πιον πάντων ἀνθρώπων· εἰ δυνα-  
τόν, τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν, μετὰ πάντων  
ἀνθρώπων εἰρηνευοντες· μὴ ἐαυ-  
τοὺς ἐκδικοῦντες, ἀγαπητοί,  
ἀλλὰ δότε τόπον τῇ ὀργῇ· γέ-  
γραπται γάρ· ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις,  
ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω, λέγει κύριος.  
ἀλλὰ ἐὰν πεινᾷ ὁ ἐχθρὸς σου,  
ψώμιζε αὐτόν· ἐὰν διψᾷ, πότι-  
ζε αὐτόν· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν ἄν-  
θρακας πυρὸς σωρεύσεις ἐπὶ τὴν  
κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ. μὴ νικῶ ὑπο  
τοῦ κακοῦ, ἀλλὰ νίκα ἐν τῷ  
ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακόν.

52.

I Peter 3:8-12

Τὸ δὲ τέλος πάντες ὁμόφρονες, συμ-  
παθεῖς, φιλάδελφοι, εὐσπλαγχνοι,  
ταπεινόφρονες, μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν  
ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἢ λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ λοιδο-  
ρίας, τούναντίον δὲ εὐλογοῦντες,  
ὅτι εἰς τοῦτο ἐκλήθητε ἵνα εὐλογίαν  
κληρονομήσητε.

(Psalm 34:12-16)

53.

There was probably a general teaching for all Christians to do good in the tradition, which was used in Romans 12 as an introduction to an haustafeln passage (Romans 13:1-7) and in I Peter 3 as a summary of haustafeln instructions. Like the Romans passage, I Peter 2:12 precedes the instructions for civic obedience:

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52.) Romans 12:17-21, Nestle, cf. I Thessalonians 5:15, 21f.

53.) I Peter 3:8-12, Nestle.

τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἔχοντες  
καλήν, ἵνα ἐν ᾧ καταλαλοῦσιν ὑμῶν ὡς κακοποι-  
ῶν, ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἐποπτεύοντες δοξάσωσιν  
τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς.

54.

This passage serves as part of an introduction (verses 11-12) to the entire haustafeln section in I Peter. It is probable that the instructions for the doing of good introduced the specific instructions of the haustafeln tradition (i.e. civic obedience and domestic obligations) since they are placed in the two haustafeln texts (I Peter 2:12 and Romans 12:17-21) just before the instructions for civic obedience.<sup>55</sup> These general instructions teach that Christians are to do good in return for evil and not to take revenge for evil. Romans 12:17-21 teaches how good works bring an opponent to contrition. I Peter 2:12 teaches that the good works of the Christians influence non-Christians and cause them to praise God. I Peter 3:8-12 teaches that rewards are received from God for the doing of good. There is therefore an understanding that the doing of good is both influential on an enemy and righteous before God. The following study of the various haustafeln duties brings out how closely associated the doing of good is with the instructions for subordinates.

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54.) I Peter 2:12 (Nestle).

55.) The author of I Peter uses the general instructions as a summary of the haustafeln instructions in I Peter 3:8-12, where the author cites Psalm 34:12-16. I Peter 3:9 and Romans 12:17 seem closely connected to Proverbs 25:21f., which Paul quotes in Romans 12:20. It is argued below that the concept of doing good in the Proverbs and the Psalms is background for the instruction of doing good in the haustafeln tradition.

## 2. Civic Obedience

Four haustafeln texts present teachings which generally may be called instructions for civic obedience: Romans 13:1-7; I Peter 2:13-17; Titus 3:1-8 and I Timothy 2:1-4. The text of I Timothy calls for prayer on behalf of the civic authorities and is not strictly an instruction for civic obedience.<sup>56</sup> A comparison of these texts shows some features of the haustafeln traditional teachings for civic obedience, which the individual authors re-worded in whatever manner was appropriate for their purposes. Even though the tradition often eludes verbal definition, it contains some common themes which are evident among the various haustafeln passages.

The prevailing instructional theme for the tradition is submission to the civic authorities as found in the texts of Romans 13:1-7, I Peter 2:13-17 and Titus 3:1-8. This theme is represented in each passage by a form of the verb ὑποτάσσω which consistently occurs at the beginning of each passage as the overall theme of the instructions. The leading verse in Romans 13:1-7 reads: "Πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω". After some discussion on the civic authorities as instruments of God's justice, the instruction appears again in connection with a different motive: "διὸ ἀνάγκη ὑποτάσσεσθαι, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν". I Peter 2:

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56.) I Timothy 2:1-4 contains the "universal theme" (which will be discussed below) as a motif in common with the other texts on civic obedience. This passage will be discussed apart from the three other texts, because it is not direct evidence for the domestic code.



13-17 also begins the instructions for civic obedience with a command for submission to the authorities: 'Υποτάγητε πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει διὰ τὸν κύριον . The beginning verse in the parallel passage of Titus again teaches submission as the first instruction regarding civic obedience: 'Υπομίμνησκε αὐτοὺς ἀρχαῖς ἐξουσίαις ὑποτάσσεσθαι . The exhortation at the beginning of the traditional haustafeln instructions for civic obedience must have been "be submissive", but the exact form of the verb cannot be recovered from these three representations of the tradition.<sup>57</sup> The theme of submission to the civic authorities holds a dominant place in the instructions for civic obedience with the subsidiary instructions as implications of "submission". These subsidiary instructions will be discussed as instructional themes within the tradition.

Closely aligned with the dominant motif of submission is the instructional theme of doing good works.<sup>58</sup> Judging from the frequency

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57.) The use of the infinitive ὑποτάσσεσθαι in Titus 3:1 is due to the letter being addressed to church leaders who are to teach others. Both I Peter 2:13 and Romans 13:1 use the imperative forms. It is likely that the traditional instruction was in the imperative form (singular or plural). For other characteristics of the tradition which do not concern this study, see Selwyn, *op. cit.*, p. 426, and the chart on p. 427. It is of particular interest that the participial imperative, which is frequently preferred by I Peter and discussed at length by D. Daube (in Selwyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 467ff.) is not used in these passages. Where Paul could have used it in Romans 13:5 he uses the infinitive.

58.) For a discussion on the meaning of good works (and equivalents) in the New Testament, see: W.C. Van Unnik, "The Teaching of Good Works in I Peter", *NTS*, I, (1954), pp. 92-110; W. Grundmann, *TWNT*, I, e.t., pp. 10ff. The chapter on "The Background of Palestinian Judaism" (below) discusses Van Unnik's article.

of the theme in the following passages, it is most likely that the theme is integral to the underlying tradition. Romans 13:2-4 describes the doing of good as cooperation with the civic authorities, who acknowledge and approve good deeds:

ὥστε ὁ ἀντιτασσόμενος τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ τοῦ  
 θεοῦ διαταγῇ ἀνθέστηκεν· οἱ δὲ ἀνθεστηκότες  
 ἑαυτοῖς κρίμα λήμφονται. οἱ γὰρ ἄρχοντες οὐκ  
 εἰσὶν φόβος τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἔργῳ ἀλλὰ τῷ κακῷ.  
 θέλεις δὲ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν; τὸ  
 ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖ, καὶ ἕξεις ἔπαινον ἐξ αὐτῆς·  
 θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστιν σοὶ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν.  
 ἐὰν δὲ τὸ κακὸν ποιῇς, φοβοῦ· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὴ  
 τὴν μάχαιραν φορεῖ· θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστιν  
 ἔκδικος εἰς ὀργὴν τῷ τὸ κακὸν πράσσοντι. 59.

In this passage, the person who submits to the civic authorities is contrasted to the person who opposes them and receives punishment for his wrong doing. The person submitting to the civic authorities is doing good with the approval of the civic authorities and God. Thus, the doing of good is a means of submitting, and an honorable act in the eyes of pagan governments. The parallel text of I Peter 2:13-17 also mentions the importance of doing good:

ὑποτάγητε ... ἡγεμόσιν ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ  
 πεμπομένοις εἰς ἐκδίκησιν κακοποιῶν ἔπαι-  
 νον δὲ ἀγαθοποιῶν· ὅτι οὕτως ἐστὶν τὸ

59.) Romans 13:2-4 (Nestle)

θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀγαθοποιούντας φιμοῦν

τὴν τῶν ἀφρόνων ἀνθρώπων ἀγνοσίαν·

60.

As in Romans 13:1-7, I Peter 2:13-17 recognizes the doing of good as a means of submitting to the civic authorities (among other human institutions) and to God. Using a different argument from Paul, the author of I Peter reasons that the doing of good will bring to silence the ignorance of foolish men, implying that they will honor God (cf. 2:12).<sup>61</sup> Again, the positive function of the state is mentioned: the authorities praise those who do good and punish those who do evil. Here the doing of good is only contrasted to the general notion of doing evil or wrong, which does not disclose any ideas about the specific actions of doing good.<sup>62</sup> For the author of I Peter, it is more important to teach the results of doing good than to delineate the specific actions of doing good.<sup>63</sup> The important effect of doing good is that pagans are led to honor God once having recognized these good works as praiseworthy. Titus 3:1-2 takes up the same

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60.) I Peter 2:13-15, Nestle.

61.) Eduard Lohse, "Paränese und Kerygma im I Petrusbrief", ZNTW, XLV, (1954), pp. 74f., sees the theme of the entire haustafeln summarized in 2:12.

62.) It is possible that both Romans 13:1-7 and I Peter 2:13-17 are referring to practices of the Roman government which honored good citizenship as well as punishing the offender. See Selwyn, op. cit., pp. 173, 426.

63.) The meaning of doing good is taken for granted. If pagans noticed good works, Christians would be particularly aware of them. Van Unnik, op. cit., pp. 92ff., is concerned with the definition of the doing of good in I Peter. His conclusion seems correct: the good works in I Peter (and particularly the haustafeln) are acts of kindness to anyone in society.

theme of good works as an instructional theme for civic obedience:

ὑπομνήσκει αὐτοὺς ἀρχαῖς ἐξουσίαις  
 ὑποτάσσεσθαι, πειθαρχεῖν, πρὸς πᾶν ἔρ-  
 γον ἀγαθὸν ἐτοίμους εἶναι, μηδένα βλασ-  
 φημεῖν, ἀμάχους εἶναι, ἐπεικεῖς, πᾶσαν  
 ἐνδεικνυμένους πραῦτητα πρὸς πάντας ἄν-  
 θρώπους.<sup>64</sup>

Here it is difficult to interpret the doing of good as the implication of submission, because the instructions are a list of infinitives in parallel construction. However, if submission to the civic authorities is the dominant command, as in other haustafeln passages, the other following infinitives may be delineating the meaning of submission in more specific terms, and the doing of good works may be one aspect of the submission.<sup>65</sup> Therefore, judging from all three haustafeln passages, the doing of good works was an instructional theme in the underlying tradition which was taught as a means of implementing submission, contrasted to works of evil and recognized by pagan authorities and society in general as praiseworthy.<sup>66</sup>

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64.) Titus 3:1-2, Nestle.

65.) I Timothy has been cited by Selwyn, op. cit., p. 427, as a relevant haustafeln text for the instruction on civic obedience. Concerning this discussion, I Timothy 2:1ff. may reflect an early church code which developed independently of the haustafeln, i.e. not as an extension of the domestic code into the realm of church life and worship. There are Jewish precedents for prayer on behalf of civic authorities: Jeremiah 29:7, Aboth 3:2. See the discussion of these instructions below, pp. 200ff.

66.) The wording of the instructional theme of good works or doing good escapes precise definition, because of the various representations in the texts.

A third instructional theme stresses the duty of Christians to all men in society. Selwyn has rightly noted that the teachings for civic obedience have "something universal in Christianity" connected with them.<sup>67</sup> This "something universal" is an instructional theme-- the universal theme -- which teaches honor, respect and kindness towards all men in society:<sup>68</sup>

Titus 3:2

I Peter 2:17

Romans 13:7

...πᾶσαν ἐνδεικνυμένους πάντας τιμήσατε, τὴν ἀπόδοτε πᾶσιν τὰς ὀφειλάς,  
πραῦτητα πρὸς πάντας ἄν- ἀδελφότητα ἀγαπάτε, τῷ τὸν φόρον τὸν φόρον,  
θρώπους. τὸν θεὸν φοβεῖσθε, τῷ τὸ τέλος τὸ τέλος, τῷ  
τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶτε. τὸν φόρον τὸν φόρον, τῷ

tὴν τιμὴν τὴν τιμὴν. This universal theme is a summary at the end of each haustafeln instruction for civic obedience and a generalization on Christian behavior towards all of pagan society.<sup>69</sup> In the haustafeln tradition it probably served as a general maxim for Christian behavior towards secular authorities of any type:<sup>70</sup> honor all men; give to each his due. The universal theme was probably included under the instructions

67.) Selwyn, op. cit., p. 428. Whether this was uniquely a Christian emphasis is not to be discussed here. See Weidinger, op. cit., pp. 66f. for pagan precedents.

68.) The following texts are from Nestle.

69.) The use of the participle ἐνδεικνυμένους after a list of infinitives suggests a summary statement in Titus 3:2. The text of Timothy 2:1 asks for prayer to be made on behalf of πάντων ἀνθρώπων. If this teaching for prayer was developed from the haustafeln, this text would be an indirect witness to the presence of the universal theme in the domestic code. However, this development is unlikely, supra note 65.

70.) I Peter 2:13 applies the theme directly to the instructions for submission: ὑποτάγητε πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει.



for submission to civic authorities because it summarized Christian attitudes towards an entire pagan society. Consequently, this theme would not teach a means of implementing submission, as the theme for doing good works teaches, but would serve as a general summary of the Christian attitude towards a pagan society, of which submission to the governing authorities is one aspect.

The motives accompanying the instructions for civic obedience reflect a general concern of the haustafeln tradition and connect the traditional material to the themes of the various epistles.<sup>71</sup> (i.) In Romans 13:1-7 Paul is probably adding two motives to the tradition. (a.) The Christian is to submit to the civic authorities because they are instruments of God's justice, rewarding the good citizen and punishing the offender. These rewards and punishments coming from the civic authorities are the rewards and punishments of God. He who resists the state is actually resisting God, and he who obeys the state is obeying God. (b.) Paul also appeals to the Christians' conscience for the payment of revenue, respect and taxes to whom they are due.<sup>72</sup> These two motives coalesce. Conscience urges Christians to be submissive and to pay taxes, revenue and respect because the authorities are ministers of God. The passage reflects the general concern of the haustafeln, to make a favorable impression on non-Christians, by impressing pagan authorities with good works. These good works may also

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71.) The instructions and motives for prayers in I Timothy 2:1-4 do not seem to reflect traditional haustafeln themes. The passage teaches that prayer will bring a quiet and peaceful life and "all" men to a knowledge of the truth; cf. Jeremiah 29:7.

be interpreted as a means of "making room" for the justice of God, which Paul mentions in Romans 12:19ff., and of implementing the love and non-retaliation of Romans 12.<sup>72a</sup> (ii.) I Peter 2:15 states one main objective for submission to every human institution. It is the will of God that Christians put to silence the ignorance of foolish men by their doing of good:

ὅτι οὕτως ἐστὶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ,  
ἀγαθοποιοῦντας φιμοῦν τὴν τῶν ἀφρόνων  
ἀνθρώπων ἀγνοσίαν.<sup>73</sup>

The other short motivational phrases in I Peter, διὰ τὸν κύριον (2:13) and ὡς θεοῦ δοῦλοι (2:16), should not be singled out as separate motives in themselves, but interpreted according to this central motive in verse 15. Accordingly, Christians are acting "for the Lord's sake" or "as servants of God" by submitting to civic authorities, because such action brings to silence the ignorance of foolish men.<sup>74</sup> The correlative to verse 15 is verse 12, which is mentioned above as part of the general instructions in I Peter.<sup>75</sup> If verse 15 is seen in connection with verse 12, the doing of good works puts to silence the ignorance of foolish men and causes them to glorify God. These two verses reflect the general motive of the tradition, to make a favorable impression on non-Christians, and the epistolary theme that the Christians' faith will bring glory to God despite present sufferings; cf. 1:6-7. (iii.) The motives in Titus 3:3-7 give particular

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72.) It is unlikely that "conscience" is a traditional motive for either civic obedience or the submissiveness of slaves, because it does not occur in the same haustafeln instruction more than once; cf. I Peter 2:19.



reasons for the doing of good towards "all men". Titus 3:3 speaks of the Christians' former state before God's saving acts "appeared" to them:

ὅτε δὲ ἡ χρηστότης καὶ ἡ φιланθρωπία ἐπεφάνη  
τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ, οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων τῶν ἐν  
δικαιοσύνῃ ἃ ἐποιήσαμεν ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ  
αὐτοῦ ἔλεος ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγ-  
γενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου, οὗ  
ἐξέχεεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς πλουσίως διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ  
τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ἵνα δικαιωθέντες τῇ ἐκείνου  
χάριτι κληρονόμοι γεννηθῶμεν κατ' ἐλπίδα ζωῆς  
αἰωνίου. 76.

But the loving kindness of God changed their condition. Likewise, Christian good works (3:1b-2) show loving kindness to non-Christians and, presumably, lead then to salvation. Again we see the general motivational theme of the haustafeln tradition, although expressed in the author's own way. Titus stresses the Christians' solidarity with "all men", whom God desires to be brought to salva-

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72a.) See below pp. 250, 253, n. 11.

73.) I Peter 2:15, Nestle.

74.) Lohse, op. cit., p. 75, sees both I Peter 2:13, 15 and Romans 13:4 teaching a "göttliche Autorität der Obrigkeit". If this is the case, the haustafeln tradition may have taught that civic authority was derived from God and may have included this as a reason for civic obedience; cf. supra pp. 30f. But it is not clear that I Peter 2:13, 15 has this meaning. To argue that I Peter 2:13 teaches that civic authority is sent by God is to interpret δι' αὐτοῦ as "by God" rather than "by the emperor". The parallel construction of verse 14 implies that δι' αὐτοῦ refers to the emperor. However, I Peter may imply that authority comes from God, and therefore there is the possibility that this motive was traditional.

tion. Titus 3:1-8 teaches what is expected of Christians in view of God's grace which is a teaching in keeping with the emphasis of the entire letter. The author teaches his readers in Crete that the grace of God for "all men" is the theological foundation for Christian ethics (Titus 2:11-14). Thus, Christians are to remember the loving kindness of God which brought them to salvation in order that they might apply themselves to good works and bring others to salvation:

Πιστὸς ὁ λόγος, καὶ περὶ τούτων βού-  
 λομαί σε διαβεβαιοῦσθαι, ἵνα φροντίζῃς  
 καλῶν ἔργων προΐστασθαι οἱ πεπιστευκότες θεῷ.  
 ταῦτά ἐστιν καλὰ καὶ ὠφέλιμα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις\*

77.

Clearly, the author of Titus elaborates on the general motivational theme in Titus 3:1-8 at some length in order to weave the tradition into the epistle. Each of the haustafeln passages for civic obedience therefore has some view towards the broader context of the epistles in which they appear even though they are reproducing the same traditional material. The motives developed in these passages actually tie the traditional material into the various letters. Different as these motives seem, they each reflect a general concern of the haustafeln teachings, which is to make a favorable impression on non-Christians. Invariably this impression is made through the doing of

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75.) Supra pp. 42f.

76.) Titus 3:4-7, Nestle.

77.) Titus 3:8, Nestle.

good or good works. Both in Romans 13:1-7 and I Peter 2:13-17 good works are recognized by the authorities as praiseworthy. The author of I Peter emphasizes the effect of good works on the non-Christians: they are brought to salvation and the praise of God. Titus seems to liken the good works of Christians to the loving kindness of God: just as the loving kindness of God has had an effect on the Christians, who once lived as pagans, the good works of the Christians have an effect on the non-Christians.<sup>78.</sup>

In summary, the following points may be made about the traditional haustafeln instructional and motivational themes for civic obedience. (i.) The main instructional theme is "to be submissive" to civic authorities. But this instructional theme does not stand alone. It is expanded by subsidiary themes of the tradition, the doing of good and the honoring of all men. (ii.) Submission entails doing good, which complies with the wishes of the civic authorities. (iii.) Honoring all men is the universal theme, which includes Christian action towards the entire pagan society. In this sense the instruction for civic obedience in the haustafeln tradition is not confined to behavior towards the civic authorities. Even the doing of good might be viewed as action regarding all of society rather than action before civic authorities. If the Christian is to make room for the justice of God by the doing of good in Romans 13:1-7,<sup>79.</sup>

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78.) See "General Motives", pp. 94ff.

79.) See the discussion on pp. 252ff.



they are to do good to all who would do evil, which does not refer to the civic authorities who do the will of God. The people who are brought to salvation in I Peter and Titus are not specifically rulers.<sup>80.</sup>

(iv.) Although the authors develop their own motives in order to tie the traditional material to their epistles, these motives reflect the general motive of the tradition. Therefore, the traditional duty for civic obedience contains three instructional themes, to which motives are added which reflect the general haustafeln motive.<sup>81.</sup>

### 3. Wives.

The haustafeln tradition gives mutual obligations to wives and husbands. The passages for these instructions are Colossians 3:18f.; Ephesians 5:22-33; I Peter 3:1-7; Titus 2:4-5 and, indirectly, I Timothy 2:9-15. The duty of the wife always precedes the duty of the husband, and the passages give separate instructions for each. In keeping with the order of the haustafeln tradition, the instructions and motives for the wives will be considered before the instructions and motives for the husbands.

As in the preceding section, the predominant instruction for wives is submission. (i.) The Colossians rendering of the traditional

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30.) Cf. I Peter 2:12 and Titus 3:8.

31.) The relation of this general motive to the instructional theme is important in the discussion on Palestinian Jewish background to the haustafeln.

instructions sets forth a terse version. Paul takes no opportunity to develop in detail the themes of the letter, as is sometimes the case in the haustafeln instructions.<sup>82</sup> As it reads, this representation of the tradition is probably the simplest form known to the church:

Αἱ γυναῖκες, ὑποτάσσεσθε τοῖς ἀνδράσιν,  
ὡς ἀνῆκεν ἐν κυρίῳ.<sup>83</sup>

There are no other instructional themes subsumed under this main instruction for submission. (ii.) The author of Ephesians develops the instruction for submission according to a major theme of the letter: the unity of Christ with the church. The instruction begins in Ephesians 5:21-22:

... ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐν φόβῳ  
Χριστοῦ. Αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀν-  
δράσιν ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ, ...<sup>84</sup>

As in the Colossians instructions for wives, the significance of submission is not developed according to subsidiary instructional themes.<sup>85</sup> (iii.) Titus 2:4-5 presents a short teaching for wives

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82.) This was particularly noticed in the instructions for civic obedience: I Peter 2:13-17 and Titus 3:1-8. It will also be observed in the instructions for husbands and wives in Ephesians 5:21ff. The addition of ἐν κυρίῳ is not an extensive development, but a familiar Pauline expression. It serves as a phrase to join the tradition to the Colossians letter. Its significance is discussed below, pp. 63ff.

83.) Colossians 3:18, Nestle.

84.) Ephesians 5:21f., Nestle. The verb for verse 22 is taken from verse 21. In the analogy of the church's relation to Christ (vs.24)

which is not extensively developed:

... ἵνα σωφρονίζωσιν τὰς νέας φιλά-  
δρους εἶναι, φιλοτέκνους, σώφρονας,  
ἀγνάς, οἰκουργούς, ἀγαθὰς, ὑποτασσο-  
μένας τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν,...

86.

It is of particular interest that the text uses εἶναι with a list of virtues in which young women are to be instructed. But the instruction for submission to husbands breaks from this style and inserts the participial form ὑποτασσομένας, which is a participial imperative as in Ephesians 5:21f. Once again there are no further subsidiary instructional themes to delineate the meaning of submission. (iv.) The instructions for wives in I Peter 3:1-6 repeat the instructions for submission and add that women are to have a quiet and gentle person:

Ὅμοίως γυναῖκες, ὑποτασσόμεναι τοῖς ἰδίοις  
ἀνδράσιν, ἵνα καὶ εἴ τινες ἀπειθοῦσιν τῷ λόγῳ,  
διὰ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν ἀναστροφῆς ἄνευ λόγου  
κερδηθήσονται, ἐποπτεύσαντες τὴν ἐν φόβῳ ἀγνὴν  
ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν. ὣν ἔστω οὐκ ὁ ἔξωθεν ἐμπλο-  
κῆς τριχῶν καὶ περιθέσεως χρυσίων ἢ ἐνδύσεως

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the indicative is used: ὑποτάσσεται. Probably an imperative is understood in the οὕτω clause.

85.) The instructional theme of submission is developed according to the main epistolary theme of Ephesians: the unity of Christ and the church, which will be discussed in the section on motives.

86.) Titus 2:4-5, Nestle.

ἱματίων κόσμος, ἀλλ' ὁ κρυπτός τῆς καρδίας  
 ἄνθρωπος ἐν τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ τοῦ πραέος καὶ ἡσυ-  
 χίου πνεύματος, ὅς ἐστιν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ  
 πολυτελής. οὕτως γάρ ποτε καὶ αἱ ἅγαι γυ-  
 ναῖκες αἱ ἐλπίζουσιν εἰς θεὸν ἐκόσμουν  
 ἑαυτάς, ὑποτασσόμεναι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν...<sup>87.</sup>

again the main instructional theme is submission which is repre-  
 sented by the participial imperative ὑποτασσόμεναι . In view of  
 this passage, submission means quietness. It is through silence  
 that a pagan husband of a Christian woman will be "won without a  
 word", when he sees the reverent and chaste behavior of his wife.<sup>88.</sup>  
 Secondly, the quietness of a woman is likened to a precious jewel  
 in God's sight and contrasted to the adornment of gold and garments.  
 v.) The author of I Timothy makes a similar contrast between the  
 "good works", which are fitting for a woman of religion, and the  
 adornment of gold and garments:

Ὡσαύτως γυναῖκας ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ,  
 μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης κοσμεῖν ἑαυ-  
 τὰς, μὴ ἐν πλέγμασιν καὶ χρυσίῳ ἢ μαρ-  
 γαρίταις ἢ ἱματισμῷ πολυτελεῖ, ἀλλ' ὅς πρέπει

7.) I Peter 3:1-5, Nestle.

8.) It was the practice of the wife to follow the religion of her  
 husband, but not the practice of the husband to change his religion  
 on account of his wife's conversion. If a woman was converted to  
 Christianity, she would neither be followed by her husband nor follow  
 his paganism. This passage may be an adaptation of the tradition to  
 meet this particular domestic problem. However, the instructions for  
 submission and quietness are applicable to all Christian women.

γυναιξὶν ἐπαγγελλομέναις θεοσέβειαν, δι'

ἔργων ἀγαθῶν.

89.

As mentioned above, the author of I Timothy is concerned with the behavior of Christians in worship and does not strictly present the domestic code of the haustafeln. In this passage he is writing about the behavior of women in church, but keeps a view towards the general behavior of women.<sup>90</sup> Although the author of I Timothy has a broader view than behavior in the church, the passage's agreement with I Peter does not confirm that such a contrast between adornment and personal qualities occurred in the domestic code. Both the authors of I Timothy and I Peter may be using a familiar comparison of the day.<sup>91</sup> The passage for women in I Timothy also exhorts them to be silent with all submissiveness:

γυνὴ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ μαθανέτω ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ·  
 διδάσκειν δὲ γυναικὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω, οὐδὲ  
 αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' εἶναι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ.

92.

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89.) I Timothy 2:9f., Nestle.

90.) I Timothy 2:8 exhorts both men and women (cf. verse 9 ὡσαύτως ) in every occasion ( ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ). The doing of good works would apply in situations outside the context of church life.

91.) Each passage contrasts a different quality to the adornment of gold and garments. The author of I Peter contrasts "silence" and "reverent and chaste behavior" to the adornment of gold and garments, and the author of I Timothy contrasts "good works". Although there is no close verbal agreement in these passages' comparisons, the passages are close in meaning.

92.) I Timothy 2:11f., Nestle.



As in I Peter, submissiveness means quietness or silence. However, I Peter speaks of the virtue of a wife's silence in the home and in the general behavior of women, and I Timothy is again concerned with the behavior of women in the church.

In view of I Corinthians 14:34f. it is likely that I Timothy represents a rule for women within the church which had some influence on the haustafeln domestic code. In I Corinthians 14:34f. Paul also refers to a woman's submissiveness as a silence in church meetings:

αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σιγάτωσαν·  
οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπεται αὐταῖς λαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ  
ὑποτασσέσθωσαν, καθὼς καὶ ὁ νόμος λέγει.  
εἰ δέ τι μαθεῖν θέλουσιν, ἐν ὥκῳ τοῦς  
ιδίους ἄνδρας ἐπερωτάτωσαν· αἰσχρὸν γάρ  
ἐστὶν γυναικὶ λαλεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ.<sup>93</sup>

According to this passage, the early church traditionally taught silence as a means of women submitting to men in the church.<sup>94</sup>

Paul refers to this ruling for women as a "law", which was known by the church at Corinth.<sup>95</sup> The verbal agreement between I Tim.2:11f. &

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93.) I Corinthians 14:34f., Nestle.

94.) II Thessalonians 3:12 teaches quietness as a trait for all Christians.

95.) The term "law" may be referring to the Torah, and in particular Genesis 3:16 (S-B, III, pp. 467ff.). In principle the synagogue did not prohibit women to speak in worship, but it did in practice. In Rabbinic Judaism the Jewish practice is sometimes equal to the words of the Torah (S-B, III, p. 468). Paul may be referring to a Jewish practice adopted by the early church and considered "law" in Christian practice.

and I Corinthians 14:34 leads to the conclusion that I Timothy 2:11f. is reproducing the ruling for the behavior of women in church and not applying the domestic code of the haustafeln to an ecclesiastical setting.<sup>96</sup> (i.) Both I Timothy 2:11f. and I Corinthians 14:34f. are concerned with the submission of women in church meetings, where they are to keep silence. This silence restricts them from asking questions (I Corinthians 14:34) and teachings (I Timothy 2:11f.). (ii.) Both passages are concerned that men retain authority over women in the congregation. The silence of women keeps them from assuming authority over men in church meetings. (iii.) Both I Corinthians and I Timothy invoke the authority of either Jewish custom or the Torah (possibly Genesis 3:16) for this order of authority. In I Corinthians 14:34 Paul appeals to the "νόμος" which may be interpreted as the Torah or Jewish-Christian custom.<sup>97</sup>

96.) The main verbal parallel which distinguishes these two passages from comparable haustafeln passages is the reference to authority: ἐπιτρέπω (I Timothy 2:12) and ἐπιτρέπεται (I Corinthians 14:34). Also, these two passages are not concerned about the relationship of wives to husbands, which is the topic of the haustafeln.

Weidinger, *op. cit.*, p. 68, sees the haustafeln becoming a "Gemeindetafel" in I Timothy 2:8-15. However, the evidence in I Corinthians 14:34f. suggests that something of a "Gemeindetafel" for the submission of women already existed before the writing of I Timothy and actually influenced the wording of the haustafeln.

97.) Commentators attempt to explain the conflict between I Corinthians 11:3ff., where women are allowed to speak, and I Corinthians 14:34, where women are prohibited to speak, by supposing that different situations are addressed: women inspired by the Holy Spirit (11:3ff.) as opposed to women discussing theology (14:34), M.E. Thrall, The First and Second Letters of Paul to the Corinthians, Cambridge, University Press, 1965, p. 102; or women inspired by the Holy Spirit as opposed to ordinary members of the congregation, Jean Hering, The First Letter of Paul to the Corinthians, trans. A.W. Heathcote and P. J. Allcock, London, Epworth, 1962, pp. 154f. J. Stanley Glen, Pastoral

I Timothy 2:13f. mentions the order of creation as the authority for man's rule over woman. Furthermore, Eve's role in the temptation narrative brings a curse upon her in Genesis 3:16, where it is stated that man shall have authority over woman. As witnessed by I Timothy 2:11f. and I Corinthians 14:34f., silence is the means by which woman is to remain submissive and to acknowledge the authority of man over her. It is a mark of piety for Christian womanhood and the proper behavior of women in church, where the authority of woman is an issue.<sup>98</sup> These texts of I Corinthians 14:34f. and I Timothy 2:11f. present this teaching tradition of the church which is not strictly speaking an *haustafeln* instruction for domestic relationships (husbands and wives). As I Peter 3:1-5 indicates, the *haustafeln* domestic code was probably influenced by the ruling for

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Problems in First Corinthians, London, Epworth, 1965, p. 133, sees the conflict between a Christian woman's freedom (11:3ff.) and old Jewish custom (14:34) as a conflict which Paul never fully resolved in his letters. C.K. Barrett, The First Epistle to the Corinthians, London, Adam and Charles Black, 1968, pp. 330f., attributes 14:34 to a possible "Deutero-Pauline writer", or explains 14:34 as a "practical conclusion without...reasons and qualifications". I believe that the conflict cannot easily be resolved because the freedom of the Gospel and the "order of creation" are probably still in tension in Paul's view of woman's authority.

98.) Even in letters where the authority of woman is not an issue, the submissive role of woman is taught. In Ephesians there is no mention of women being silent in relationship to husbands. The Ephesians passage is an exposition on the mutual relationship of love between husband and wife (5:22ff.). Here the wife is compared to the church and is cleaned of her sin, purified and made holy by her husband's love. This is comparable to the love of Christ for the church, which is cleaned, purified and made holy by Christ's love. Therefore, even in this passage, which emphasizes the mutual love between husband and wife, the sinfulness of the woman comes into view. It is this typically Jewish idea of woman's sinfulness and sinful influence on man that reinforces the custom of woman remaining submissive and silent.

women within the church. It is likely that the haustafeln tradition taught silence as a means of submission within the home, because silence was a means of submission to the authority of man in the church. Silence is not the only virtue taught to women in the haustafeln tradition. The "good works", which are the proper adornment of women in I Timothy 2:10, are parallel to the "doing of good", which characterizes the children of Sarah in I Peter 3:6. This evidence leads to the conclusion that the haustafeln tradition exhorts wives to be submissive by keeping silent and doing good.

The New Testament writers add their own motives to these instructions. There is no evidence that the motives accompanying the instructions are integral to the underlying tradition. On the contrary, the motives reflect the styles of the New Testament writers and the themes of the various epistles. (i.) In Colossians 3:18 Paul adds the motive  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu \acute{\epsilon}\nu \kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$  to the instructions. This Pauline phrase  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$  and its equivalents have been given much discussion.<sup>99</sup> The phrase  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$  is appended to so many different concepts that it defies one general, comprehensive meaning.<sup>100</sup>

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99.) Adolf Deissmann, Paul, A Study in Social and Religious History, trans. Wm. E. Wilson, New York, Harper, 1957, p. 141; W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, London, SPCK, 1965, p.87; A. & G., p.259; TWNT, e.t., II, p.541; B-D., p.118; Théo Preiss, Life in Christ, trans. Harold Knight, London, SCM, 1957, pp. 41f. The references given in the footnotes of the above works should be noted.

100.) B-D., p. 118. Recent scholars (cf. Davies, op. cit., p. 86, n.6, and C.F.D. Moule, The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon, Cambridge, University Press, 1957, p. 129) have emphasized the "social concept" of the phrase: "to be in Christ is to have discovered the true community". This emphasis seems



The emphasis the writer intends must be determined by the context of the phrase. In Colossians 3:18 the phrase ἐν κυρίῳ is in connection with ἀνῆκεν in an ethical section. The terms ἀνῆκεν and τὸ ἀνῆκον are used by Paul in Ephesians 5:3-4 and Philemon 8 to designate what is (or what is not) ethically "fitting" for Christians. Ephesians 5:3-4 mentions behavior which is not "fitting" for the saints:

Πορνεία δὲ καὶ ἀκαθαρσία πᾶσα ἣ  
πλεονεξία μηδὲ ὀνομαζέσθω ἐν ὑμῖν,  
καθὼς πρέπει ἁγίοις, καὶ αἰσχροτήτος καὶ  
μωρολογίας ἣ εὐτραπείας, ἃ οὐκ ἀνῆκεν ...  
101.

Philemon 8 refers to the "duty" of a Christian master to his slave:

Διό, πολλὴν ἐν Χριστῷ παρρησίαν  
ἔχων ἐπιτάσσειν σοι τὸ ἀνῆκον, ...  
102.

As may be expected in an haustafeln text, ἐν κυρίῳ has an ethical significance in Colossians 3:18, meaning what is ethically "fitting"

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closest to the meaning of the phrase in Colossians 3:18, because Colossians 3:18 is an ethical section concerned with relationships within the Christian community. However, as Davies notes (op. cit., p. 87), the mystical significance of the phrase must not be overlooked by emphasizing the "social concept". To be in union with Christ is to have a new quality of relationships in the Christian community. See Preiss, op. cit., pp. 41f.

101.) Ephesians 5:3-4 (Nestle)

102.) Philemon 8 (Nestle). Here Paul instructs Philemon, the master, on "that which is the right thing to do" (Moule, Colossians, p. 129), which I interpret as the haustafeln instruction for masters. The haustafeln instructions for slaves and masters are discussed below. The verbal definition of the instructions for the masters cannot be determined with accuracy, but they call for a kind and considerate attitude of the master towards the slave.



for Christian wives who are in the body of Christ, the church. This interpretation is consistent with the broader context of the Colossians passage. Prior to Colossians 3:18 Paul has contrasted the old qualities, in which the Christian once walked (3:5ff.), with the new qualities of Christian living (3:12ff.). Before mentioning the haustafeln tradition, Paul instructs all Christians to do "everything in the name of the Lord Jesus" (cf. I Corinthians 10:31), reminding them that these qualities are to be characteristic of all they do. Colossians 3:18 immediately follows with instructions for submissiveness for wives, instructions which are fitting with the new qualities of life in the Christian community or "in the Lord". The motivational phrase  $\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$  teaches submission as an act complying with the Christian character of a woman.<sup>103</sup> As noted above, submissive quietness is a virtue of a woman within the Christian worshipping community (cf. I Corinthians 14:34). Therefore, the complete motivational phrase  $\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$  may be taken as a Pauline addition to the tradition meaning that which is "fitting" with the new life in the Christian community.

This conclusion precludes the possibility of the motivational

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<sup>103</sup>.) Ernst Best, One Body in Christ, London, SPCK, 1955, p. 4, interprets the phrase  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$  in Colossians 3:18 as "fitting to those who are in the Lord", taking the phrase in the general sense of the formula "in Christ": to be a Christian. See also the discussion in J.A. Allan, "The 'In Christ' Formula in Ephesians", NTS, V. (1958-9), p. 56, and C.F.D. Moule, The Birth of the New Testament, London, Adam and Charles Black, 1962, pp. 134f. The phrase can be taken in this general sense, to be a Christian, or even in the mystical sense, to be in union with Christ. However, in this context it has an ethical emphasis.

phrase being incorporated within the source material. Scholars<sup>104.</sup> often write as though the phrase ἐν κυρίῳ (or its equivalents) were added to the pre-Christian (Greek or Jewish) codes to make them Christian, implying that the Christian tradition contained such a phrase. The haustafeln tradition may be thought to consist of three levels of material: the pre-Christian elements from Greek or Jewish sources, the Christian elements common to the tradition and the additions given by individual authors of the epistles.<sup>105.</sup> The phrase ἐν κυρίῳ belongs to the third level, that which is added by the individual authors. The phrase was not added by Paul in Colossians 3:18 to "Christianize" a non-Christian code of ethics, but to weave the Christian haustafeln tradition into the literary context, the epistle of Colossians. The Colossians haustafeln repeat the terse phrases ἐν κυρίῳ and τῷ κυρίῳ (3:18,20,23,24), which represent the main theme of the letter. Throughout the letter Paul has impressed his readers with the all-sufficiency of Jesus Christ. He is the Lord in whom all things are created, in whom the fullness of God dwells and in whom Christians are knit together in love. The phrase ἐν κυρίῳ and its equivalents do not occur in any other haustafeln texts except Ephesians 5:22 and 6:1,7, which indicate a dependency on the Colossians text.<sup>106.</sup> On the other hand, equivalent phrases to ἐν κυρίῳ

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<sup>104.</sup>) Weidinger, op. cit., p. 51; A.M. Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors, London, Nicholson & Watson, 1940, p. 55; Moule, Colossians, p. 128; Davies, op. cit., p. 136; Clarke, op. cit., pp. 158f.

<sup>105.</sup>) Supra p. 23.

<sup>106.</sup>) Compare Ephesians 5:22 to Colossians 3:18; Ephesians 6:1 to Colossians 3:20, noting that its presence in Ephesians 6:1 is textually doubtful; and Ephesians 6:7 to Colossians 3:23.

occur several times within Colossians.<sup>107</sup> The use of κυρίῳ rather than αὐτῷ or Χριστῷ may be preferred in the haustafeln because of the idea of submission. Whatever the reason, the phrase reflects a characteristic theme of the epistle rather than a common motif in the haustafeln tradition.

(ii.) The motivational theme in Ephesians 5:21ff. takes up a major theme of unity in the letter:

Αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν ὡς  
τῷ κυρίῳ, ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἐστὶν κεφαλὴ τῆς  
γυναικὸς ὡς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς κεφαλὴ τῆς  
ἐκκλησίας, αὐτὸς σωτὴρ τοῦ σώματος. ἀλλὰ  
ὡς ἡ ἐκκλησία ὑποτάσσεται τῷ Χριστῷ,  
οὕτως καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐν παντί.

108.

As mentioned in the discussion of Colossians, the text follows the Colossians haustafeln, but adds the analogy of Christ and the Church, which is the central motivational theme. The unity between husband and wife is exemplified by the unity between Christ and the Church.

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<sup>107</sup>.) Colossians 1:2,16,17,19,28; 2:5,6,7,9,10,11 & 15.

<sup>108</sup>.) Ephesians 5:22-24, Nestle. The text repeats the Colossians phrase ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ. In the context of the Ephesians letter, which stresses the unity of the church with Christ, this expression probably means "as in unity with the body of Christ". Allan, *op. cit.*, p. 56, catalogues τῷ κυρίῳ in this passage with all the other uses of τῷ κυρίῳ in Ephesians: the general sense of being a Christian. Fundamentally, this is correct, but the phrase must take on the meaning of its context. Accordingly, the author of Ephesians sets forth ethics in the haustafeln which comply with being in unity with Christ and his church. In the Colossians haustafeln the terse motivational phrase ἐν κυρίῳ was an important addition which tied the tradition to the letter.

The letter has been discussing the unity of the church as a major theme, a unity between believers<sup>109.</sup> and their unity with Christ.<sup>110.</sup> In these passages the unity of the believers with Christ implies a unity between believers, the church. In Ephesians 5:22ff., the unity of Christ with the church is an analogy for the kind of unity between the wife and the husband. This is another example of a theme within a letter, unity, becoming an important motivational theme for the household instructions and expanding the meaning of submission for wives. Paul is not merely stating an old oriental view of absolute submission as a supreme religious duty. He explains this relationship according to the relationship of God to his people, who are sometimes referred to as the "bride" in the Old Testament.<sup>111.</sup> This brings a new understanding of the wife's submission to her husband which is modeled after the submission of the church to her Lord. Therefore, as in Colossians 3:18, a motive reflecting an epistolary motif is added to the traditional instructions.

(iii.) I Peter 3:1-6 offers two motives for the wife's submission and proper adornment:

Ὁμοίως γυναῖκες, ὑποτασσόμεναι τοῖς  
 ἰδοῖσι ἀνδράσιν, [ι.] ἵνα καὶ εἴ τινας  
 ἀπειθοῦσιν τῷ λόγῳ, διὰ τῆς τῶν γυν-

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109.) Ephesians 2:11-22; 4:1-7.

110.) Ephesians 1:22f.; 2:19-22; 4:4f., 15f.

111.) The analogy of Israel as the "bride" of the Lord is found in Hosea and Isaiah 54:5ff.

αικῶν ἀναστροφῆς ἄνευ λόγου κερδηθήσονται,  
 ἐποπτεύσαντες τὴν ἐν φόβῳ ἀγνὴν ἀναστροφὴν  
 ὑμῶν ... [11.] ὑποτασσόμεναι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀν-  
 δράσιν, ὡς Σάρρα ὑπήκουσεν τῷ Ἀβραάμ, κύριον  
 αὐτὸν καλοῦσα, ἧς ἐγενήθητε τέκνα ἀγαθοποι-  
 οῦσαι καὶ μὴ φοβούμεναι μηδεμίαν πτόησιν.

112.

The first motive expresses the concern for Christians to make a favorable impression on a pagan world, a motive previously discussed in the section on civic obedience (cf. 2:11-12,15).<sup>113</sup> This concern has an affinity with motives of other instructions, and is not to be taken only as a motive for the traditional instructions for women.<sup>114</sup> The second motive, to emulate the women who have hoped in God, specifically points to Sarah, the wife of Abraham, and illustrates how I Peter provides personal models for ethics.<sup>115</sup> The instructions for women in I Timothy also refer to an Old Testament relationship, Adam and Eve, for quite a different reason.<sup>116</sup> I Peter holds up the relationship between Abraham and Sarah as one example for Christian women to follow, just as the suffering of Christ is a model for slaves to follow. Therefore, this unparalleled example

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112.) I Peter 3:1-2 and 5b-6, Nestle.

113.) David Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism, London, Athlone, 1956, p. 349, speaks of κερδαίνω as a missionary term meaning to "win over". Humility is a means of winning a convert where it is used. Both Daube, op. cit., p. 349, and Selwyn, op. cit., p. 434, take this motive to be in the haustafeln tradition.

114.) This motive will be discussed below as a general motive of the tradition.



in the haustafeln texts is presumably an addition by the author of I Peter to the haustafeln tradition.

(iv.) The motive associated with the instructions for young women in Titus 2:5 is ἵνα μὴ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ βλασφημηται.<sup>117</sup> The letter of Titus is particularly concerned with the preservation of sound doctrine within the church (cf. 1:13; 2:1f., 14f.). According to this motive, the doctrine or "word of God" is to be defended by the good ethics of Christian women. The motive may reflect the idea contained in Isaiah:... δι' ὑμᾶς διὰ παντὸς τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν,<sup>118</sup> which mentions the name of God despised by the oppression of exiled Jews. In Romans 2:24 Paul quotes Isaiah 52:5 to remind his readers that the name of God is dishonored among the gentiles because the Jews are unable to keep the law. I Timothy 6:1 also connects the dishonoring of God's name (and the "teachings") with ethics: the submissive acts of slaves keeps the name of God (and the "teachings") from being defiled. II Peter 2:2 warns against false prophets and their followers among the Christians who bring blasphemy against "the way of truth" by their licentiousness. Hence, there appears a common notion in the New Testament letters that the wrong ethics of Christians will bring blasphemy against God (his name, his doctrine, and his way) by gentiles, and, as a

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<sup>115.</sup>) I Peter 2:21ff. sets forth the example of Christ that Christians may "follow in his steps". I Peter 4:1ff. instructs all Christians to follow the course of suffering as Christ did (4:13; 5:1).

<sup>116.</sup>) Selwyn, op. cit., p. 435, believes this to be in the source material: "...such examples /as given by I Timothy and I Peter/... may well have figured in the original catechism."

correlative, that right ethics will defend God's name and teachings against blasphemy. The notion is not frequently associated with one instruction of the haustafeln,<sup>119.</sup> and therefore cannot be assumed to be a motive in the traditional instructions to women.<sup>120.</sup>

The text of I Timothy 2:11f. has already been mentioned in connection with the instructions for women.<sup>121.</sup> It is doubtful that this text represents an extension of the domestic haustafeln code into the realm of church order. Its similarity with I Corinthians 14:34f. suggests that it represents a ruling for women in church meetings which is concerned with the authority of men over women. Consequently, the author mentions a proof-text from the Creation and Fall narrative for the establishment of man's authority over woman. The text provides theological rationale for the order of this authority, but does not give motives in the sense of practical results, as found in the text of the domestic code. It is likely that I Timothy 2:11ff. follows another strand of tradition which co-exists with the haustafeln tradition and has some influence on it.

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117.) Titus 2:5, Nestle.

118.) Isaiah 52:5, Rahlfs.

119.) I Timothy 6:1 and Titus 2:5 are the closest haustafeln parallels and are not the same haustafeln instruction, cf. I Peter 2:12, 15.

120.) Selwyn, op.cit., p. 434, assigns this motive to the haustafeln tradition, taking Titus 2:5 and I Timothy 6:1 as evidence. Again, I am interpreting these texts as representative of a general concern or motive of the haustafeln which is not traditionally connected with one particular instruction.

Therefore, the motives in I Timothy 2:13-15 are not to be taken as even indirect evidence for motives within the haustafeln traditional instructions for wives.<sup>122.</sup>

The following points may be made about the traditional instructions for wives and the motives added to the tradition. (i.) The main instruction for wives is to be submissive to their husbands, a command represented in the tradition by the participle imperative ὑποτασσόμεναι . (ii.) This submission implies a quietness, which may have been an instruction derived from the tradition of women being silent in the church and synagogue, and the virtue of "doing good". (iii.) To these traditional instructions the authors of the epistles added their own motives, which resemble the epistolary themes, characteristics of the authors' styles and the general theme of the tradition. The characteristically Pauline phrase "in the Lord" is added to the tradition in Colossians to weave the tradition into the literary context. The motive in Ephesians takes up the theme of unity, a subject throughout the letter. I Peter 3:1-6 reflects the general theme of the haustafeln tradition and adds a personal example for women which is characteristic of I Peter's teachings. Titus warns against the behavior of women bringing blasphemy against the "Word of God", which again reflects the general motivational haustafeln theme and the author's concern for their preser-

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121.) Supra pp. 60ff.

122.) Supra p. 32.

vation of sound doctrine. By the addition of these motives to the tradition, the New Testament writers define the meaning of the wife's submission. The phrase  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$  in Colossians 3:18 recalls virtues of the Christian life, which were previously taught in the letter. Ephesians 5:22ff. defines the wife's submission by the analogy of the church's submission to Christ.

#### 4. Husbands.

The reciprocal duty of husbands to wives occurs in Colossians 3:19, Ephesians 5:25-33 and I Peter 3:7. It is difficult to recover the underlying tradition of this instruction with any certainty, because each of these three texts has its own distinctive characteristics which are not shared by the other texts.

The traditional instruction for husbands exhorts them to love or to be considerate towards their wives. Colossians 3:19 reads:

$\text{Οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπᾶτε τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ}$   
 $\text{μὴ πικραίνεσθε πρὸς αὐτάς.}$

123.

Ephesians 5:25 repeats the Colossians instruction for husbands (without the negative command "do not be harsh with them"):  $\text{Οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπᾶτε τὰς γυναῖκας.}$  The author of Ephesians continues to dwell on

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123.) Colossians 3:19, Nestle.

124.) Ephesians 5:25, Nestle.

Christ's love for the church as an analogy of the husband's love for his wife.<sup>125</sup> I Peter 3:7 instructs husbands to "live with"<sup>126</sup> their wives "according to knowledge", which the passage does not explain. In this context it may be assumed that "knowledge" means moral understanding or a knowledge of Christian virtues.<sup>127</sup> In addition the husband is taught to bestow honor on his wife. I Peter 3:7 reads:

Οἱ ἄνδρες ὁμοίως, συννοικοῦντες κατὰ  
γνώσιν ὡς ἁσθενεστέρω σκεύει τῷ γυν-  
αικείῳ, ἀπονέμοντες τιμὴν ὡς καὶ συγ-  
κληρονόμοις χάριτος ζωῆς, εἰς τὸ μὴ  
ἐγκρίπτεσθαι τὰς προσευχὰς ὑμῶν.  
128.

It is not likely that the main command in these instructions, which is a hapax legomenon, would be the wording of the tradition. Perhaps the command for husbands to love their wives in Colossians is closer to the tradition.

As in the duties for wives, the motives for husbands are additions to the tradition by the individual authors and not traditional ones.

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125.) See the commentaries for a discussion on how far the author meant to take the analogy.

126.) Συννοικοῦντες is a hapax legomenon of the New Testament.

127.) Not all the reasons given for the husband's considerate attitude towards his wife are necessarily and uniquely Christian, for the author mentions that the wife is of the weaker sex. Thus the knowledge in which the husband acts may not be entirely a knowledge of Christian virtues. The reference to the wife as one of the weaker sex seems to be a natural consideration.



(a.) Ephesians 5:25ff. continues the motivational theme of unity, giving insight into the husband's love towards his wife:<sup>129.</sup>

Οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπᾶτε τὰς γυναῖκας, καθὼς καὶ  
ὁ Χριστὸς ἠγάπησεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἑαυτὸν  
παρέδωκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, ἵνα αὐτὴν ἀγιάσῃ καθαρίσας  
τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν ῥήματι, ἵνα παραστήσῃ  
αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἑνδοξον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, μὴ ἔχουσαν  
σπίλον ἢ ῥυτίδα ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλ' ἵνα  
ᾗ ἀγία καὶ ἄμωμος. οὕτως ὀφείλουσιν καὶ οἱ  
ἄνδρες ἀγαπᾶν τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας ὡς τὰ ἑαυτῶν  
σώματα. ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἑαυτὸν  
ἀγαπᾷ· οὐδεὶς γάρ ποτε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα ἐ-  
μίσησεν, ἀλλὰ ἐκτρέφει καὶ θάλπει αὐτήν, καθὼς  
καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὅτι μέλη ἐσμὲν τοῦ  
σώματος αὐτοῦ. ἀντὶ τούτου καταλείπει ἄν-  
θρωπος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ προσ-  
κολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ  
ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν. τὸ μυστήριον  
τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν, ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω εἰς Χριστὸν  
καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. πλὴν καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ  
καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα οὕτως  
ἀγαπάτω ὡς ἑαυτόν, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἵνα φοβῇ-  
ται τὸν ἄνδρα.

130.

<sup>128.</sup>) I Peter 3:7, Nestle.

<sup>129.</sup>) Colossians 3:19 does not present a motive for husbands.

The extended analogy within this passage is the most lengthy elaboration of the haustafeln tradition in the New Testament. It concentrates on the husband's responsibility to love his wife as Christ loved the church, referring to the death of Christ.<sup>131</sup> For the husband there is a kind of humility or submission<sup>132</sup> towards his wife which is expressed in a self-giving love. Thus, even the superior position of the husband comes under the rule of submission. If the author of Ephesians has correctly interpreted the meaning of the traditional instructions for husbands, the husband is to follow a course of humble submission, which is the general rule for all within the household (5:21). The end result of the husband's humble, Christ-like love for his wife is a bond of unity, as Christ is bound to the church. Therefore, the haustafeln tradition is interpreted as a means of obtaining unity, which is the main concern of the letter.

(b.) I Peter 3:7<sup>133</sup> presents the following motives for husbands to live considerately with their wives. (i.) Wives are of the weaker sex and (ii.) joint heirs of the grace of life. (iii.) Should the husband not live considerately with his wife, his prayers will be hindered. The first motive is not distinctively Christian, and could stand as a natural consideration. The second motive recognizes

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130.) Ephesians 5:25-33, Nestle.

131.) The use of the aorist in verse 25 suggests a reference to the death of Christ:

132.) Kamlah, op. cit., p. 242, has noted that humility is even demanded of the husband where the command "to be submissive" does not practically apply.

133.) See supra p. 75 for the text.

wives are equal recipients of God's grace. As Christians, wives are not in a subordinate position, but equal before God. This equality does not give the wife a freedom to ignore the customary authority of the husband, but gives the husband the responsibility to respect his wife as a Christian. The third motive is pragmatic and may be an allusion to Psalm 34:12-16, which is quoted in verses 10-12:<sup>134</sup>.

ὁ γὰρ θέλων ζωὴν ἀγαπᾶν

καὶ ἰδεῖν ἡμέρας ἀγαθὰς

παυσάτω τὴν γλῶσσαν ἀπὸ κακοῦ

καὶ χεῖλη τοῦ μὴ λαλῆσαι δόλον,

ἐγκλινάτω δὲ ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ ποιησάτω ἀγαθόν,

ζητησάτω εἰρήνην καὶ διωξάτω αὐτήν·

ὅτι ὀφθαλμοὶ κυρίου ἐπὶ δικαίους

καὶ ὅσα αὐτοῦ εἰς δέησιν αὐτῶν,

πρόσωπον δὲ κυρίου ἐπὶ ποιοῦντας κακὰ.

135.

Therefore, both the epistle of Ephesians and I Peter add motives to the tradition, which itself does not contain any motives.

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134.) Psalm 34:12-16 is quoted as a motive for all in the church to love and humbly respect one another. The concepts of doing good, as opposed to doing evil, and receiving a reward for good ethics are both mentioned in the psalm. See Selwyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 408f., for parallels to the psalm in other New Testament passages. The psalm may have had an influence in formulating a tradition of "Catechumen Virtues". Certainly the idea of receiving a reward for the doing of good is found in the psalm and other Jewish literature. See the discussion below on the Jewish background to the "doing of good", pp.186ff.

B. Lindars, The New Testament Apologetic, London, SCM, 1961, p. 97, sees this psalm as belonging to an early catechetical use of scripture.

135.) I Peter 3:10-12, Nestle.

5. Children

The instructions for children, the second group of subordinates addressed in the tradition, are only given in Colossians 3:20 and Ephesians 6:1-3. Colossians is the shorter form and is probably closer to the haustafeln traditional instructions for children.<sup>136</sup> Ephesians presents an expanded version with reference to the decalogue. A comparison of the passages illustrates the similar vocabulary and the addition in the Ephesians text:

Colossians 3:20a

Τὰ τέκνα,  
ὑπακούετε τοῖς γονεῦσιν  
κατὰ πάντα,

Ephesians 6:1

Τὰ τέκνα,  
ὑπακούετε τοῖς γονεῦσιν  
ὑμῶν ἐν κυρίῳ·

137.

I Timothy 3:4 does not appear in a haustafeln context, but must not be overlooked as a relevant passage: τέκνα ἔχοντα ἐν ὑποταγῇ μετὰ πάσης σεμνότητος .<sup>138</sup> This requirement for a bishop indicates that the expected relationship of children to a father in the New Testament church was specifically one of submission. It is possible that the author of I Timothy was influenced by the haustafeln tradition, which usually commands subordinates to be submissive in the home, cf. women and slaves. It is noteworthy that the Colossians-Ephesians haustafeln use the imperative ὑπακούετε rather than the usual ὑποτασσόμενοι . If Colossians is to be respected as the closer rendering of

136.) Supra p. 29.

137.) Colossians 3:20a and Ephesians 6:1, Nestle.

the tradition, it seems likely that the wording of the tradition was ὑπακούετε τοῖς γονεῦσιν . Of course, submission is implied in "obedience", which is probably a more specific instruction than the general use of ὑποτασσόμενοι . Ephesians 6:2-3 equates "obedience" with the honoring of parents, as it is commanded in the decalogue. Having mentioned that submission is δίκαιον , a term used to describe the Law in Romans 7:12, the passage refers to the decalogue:

τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα,  
 ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ,  
 ἵνα εὖ σου γένηται καὶ ἔσῃ μακροχρόνιος  
 ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. 139.

At this point the haustafeln tradition and the decalogue coalesce which is reason for the Christian children to "obey" their parents. The sole occurrence of this motive in the Ephesians text leads to the conclusion that it is an addition by the author and not traditional material. Likewise, the motivational phrase of Colossians 3:20b, τοῦτο γὰρ εὐαρεστόν ἐστιν ἐν κυρίῳ , is another Pauline addition which joins the tradition to a literary theme.<sup>140</sup> Therefore, the traditional haustafeln instructions for children were not accompanied by traditional motives.

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138.) I Timothy 3:4b (Nestle)

139.) Ephesians 6:2-3 (Nestle)

140.) See the discussion above on the meaning of "in Christ" or "in the Lord" and how it represents a literary theme in Colossians, pp. 63ff.



6. Fathers

The reciprocal duty for fathers in the underlying tradition can only be identified by one instructional theme, the considerate behavior towards children, which is found in the Colossians and Ephesians haustafeln:

Colossians 3:21

Οἱ πατέρες,  
μὴ ἐρεθίζετε τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν,  
ἵνα μὴ ἀθυμῶσιν.

Ephesians 6:4

Καὶ οἱ πατέρες,  
μὴ παροργίζετε τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν,  
ἀλλὰ ἐκτρέφετε αὐτὰ ἐν παιδείᾳ  
καὶ νοουθεσίᾳ κυρίου.  
141.

The imperatives of the two texts do not agree, but both texts have negative commands, stressing the gentleness and kindness of a father's actions towards a child. This emphasis on considerateness appears to be the instructional theme in the tradition which exhorts fathers to assume their responsibility under the general duty of submissiveness for all Christians. As in the case of husbands, it is not practical to teach fathers to actually submit to their subordinates. But as an act of humility, this instruction to be gentle with children does not preclude the discipline of children, which is frequently taught in the Jewish Wisdom Literature.<sup>142</sup> If the author of Ephesians is again a faithful interpreter of the tradition, the alternative to

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141.) Colossians 3:21 and Ephesians 6:4 (Nestle)

142.) See the discussion below on the Jewish background of this instruction.

not being harsh with children is to bring them up in the "discipline and instruction of the Lord".<sup>143</sup> The instruction to fathers exhorts them to be considerate with their children, which excludes any indiscriminate punishment. Paul adds that such harsh action would only make children hard and unresponsive. It can only be concluded from this evidence that the haustafeln tradition contained an instructional theme for fathers to be considerate towards their children.<sup>144</sup>

## 7. Slaves

The haustafeln instructions for slaves occur in Colossians 3:22-25; Ephesians 6:5-8; I Peter 2:18-25; Titus 2:9-10 and, indirectly, I Timothy 6:1-2. The instructions for slaves in I Timothy take into account the problem of slaves and masters being equals in the same congregation. The author of I Timothy adapts the haustafeln tradition to the needs of his readers in an ecclesiastical setting. Consequently, there is little verbal agreement between I Timothy 6:1-2 and the other haustafeln texts addressed to slaves. But there are some instructional themes shared by I Timothy 6:1-2 and other haustafeln instructions for slaves which qualify I Timothy 6:1-2 as a relevant text.<sup>145</sup> The following discussion identifies the instructional and motivational themes and their wording wherever there are parallels in the haustafeln texts.

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<sup>143</sup>.) παιδεία frequently means discipline in the Wisdom Literature, H. & R., II, pp. 1046f., G. Bertram, TWNT, e.t., V, pp. 605f.

<sup>144</sup>.) There is not sufficient evidence for a verbal definition.

The major instructional theme for slaves is submission to their masters. The Colossians-Ephesians haustafeln show considerable agreement and present this instruction with the imperative:

Colossians 3:22-25

Οἱ δοῦλοι, ὑπακούετε κατὰ πάντα τοῖς  
κατὰ σάρκα κυρίοις, μὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμο-  
δουλίαις ὡς ἄνθρωπάρεσκοι, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπ-  
λοτητι καρδίας φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον.

ὁ ἂν ποιῇτε, ἐκ ψυχῆς ἐργάζεσθε ὡς  
τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις, εἰδοτες  
ὅτι ἀπὸ κυρίου ἀπολήμψεσθε τὴν ἀντα-  
πόδοσιν τῆς κληρονομίας. τῷ κυρίῳ  
Χριστῷ δουλεύετε· ὁ γὰρ ἀδικῶν κομί-  
σεται ὁ ἡδίκησεν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν προσ-  
ωπολημφία.

Ephesians 6:5-8

Οἱ δοῦλοι, ὑπακούετε τοῖς κατὰ  
σάρκα κυρίοις μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου  
ἐν ἀπλότητι τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν ὡς τῷ  
Χριστῷ, μὴ κατ' ὀφθαλμοδουλίαν ὡς  
ἄνθρωπάρεσκοι, ἀλλ' ὡς δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ  
ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ  
ψυχῆς, μετ' εὐνοίας δουλεύοντες ὡς  
τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις, εἰδότες  
ὅτι ἕκαστος ἂν τι ποιήσῃ ἀγαθόν,  
τοῦτο κομίσεται παρὰ κυρίου, εἴτε  
δοῦλος εἴτε ἐλεύθερος.

146.

The other texts representing the domestic code specifically exhort slaves to be submissive to their masters:

I Peter 2:18

Οἱ οἰκέται, ὑποτασσόμενοι ἐν παντὶ  
φόβῳ τοῖς δεσπόταις, οὐ μόνον τοῖς

Titus 2:9-10

Δούλους ἰδίῳις δεσπόταις ὑποτάσ-  
σεσθαι ἐν πᾶσιν, εὐαρέστους εἶναι,

145.) These themes are discussed in this section.

146.) Colossians 3:22-25 and Ephesians 6:5-8 (Nestle). The parallel wording and thoughts in these two passages indicate the literary dependence of Ephesians on Colossians (*supra*, p. 29). The emphasis on an "inner motivation" to the slave's service is unique to these passages and unlikely to be in the tradition.

ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἐπιεικέσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ μὴ ἀντιλέγοντας, μὴ νοσοφίζομένους,  
τοῖς σκολιοῖς. ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν πίστιν ἐνδεικνυμένους  
ἀγαθὴν, ...

147.

The use of the imperative ὑπακούετε only occurs in the Colossians-Ephesians haustafeln.<sup>148</sup> The I Peter and Titus haustafeln, representing the tradition independent of each other, command slaves "to be submissive" rather than "to be obedient". In Titus 2:9 the occurrence of the infinitive ὑποτάσσεσθαι is due to the purpose of the letter, i.e. the instructions are given to church leaders who instruct slaves "to be submissive". Consequently, the reading of the participial imperative in I Peter, ὑποτασσόμενοι, would seem closest to the source material. The use of the participial imperative has also been located in the traditional instructions for wives, and is a particular characteristic of the haustafeln tradition in both instances. Therefore, "to be submissive" is the primary instruction for slaves in the haustafeln tradition which is represented by the participial imperative.

As in the instructions for civic obedience, the theme of "doing good" is subsumed under the major theme of submission. Here the texts of I Peter 2:20, I Timothy 6:2 and Ephesians 6:8 show some resemblance. The idea of "doing good" is developed in these motivational passages,

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147.) I Peter 2:18 and Titus 2:9-10a (Nestle)

148.) Ephesians derives the imperative from Colossians, where Paul repeats the imperative which the tradition has used for children.

specifying the kind of service rendered in submission to the masters. In I Peter 2:20, the "doing of good" is contrasted to the "doing of wrong" and brought under the epistolary motif of "suffering for righteousness sake":<sup>149.</sup>

ποῖον γὰρ κλέος εἰ ἁμαρτάνοντες καὶ  
κολαφιζόμενοι ὑπομενεῖτε; ἀλλ' εἰ  
ἀγαθοποιοῦντες καὶ πάσχοντες ὑπομενεῖτε,  
τοῦτο χάρις παρὰ θεῶ.

150.

Ephesians 6:7-8 likens the "doing of good" to service rendered with a good will and treats it under the motivational theme of receiving a reward from the Lord:

... μετ' εὐνοίας δουλεύοντες ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ  
καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις, εἰδότες ὅτι ἕκαστος ἐάν  
τι ποιήσῃ ἀγαθόν, τοῦτο κομίσεται παρὰ κυρίου,  
εἴτε δοῦλος εἴτε ἐλεύθερος.

151.

I Timothy 6:2 describes the "doing of good" as service performed "all the better" for those who are Christian masters:

οἱ δὲ πιστοὺς ἔχοντες δεσπότας μὴ κατα-  
φρονεῖτωσαν, ὅτι ἀδελφοί εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον  
δουλευέτωσαν, ὅτι πιστοὶ εἰσιν καὶ ἀγαπητοὶ

149.) Compare the traditional instructions for civic obedience and Psalm 34:12-16 in I Peter 3:10-12.

150.) I Peter 2:20, Nestle.

151.) Ephesians 6:7-8, Nestle. See Selwyn, op. cit., p. 429.

152.) I Timothy 6:2, Nestle. The "doing of good" has practical meaning in this context not a theological meaning (cf. Lock, op.



οἱ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι.

152.

Despite the different vocabulary and treatment of the theme, in every passage the "doing of good" is characteristic of the slave's submission to his master, and generally means a faithful fulfillment of a slave's tasks with a good quality of service.<sup>153.</sup>

A second instructional theme subsumed under the instructions for submission is reminiscent of the "universal theme" in the instructions for civic obedience. In the instructions for civic obedience the "universal theme" mentions how extensively Christians should show honor and respect, which is a kind of submission. In the instructions for slaves the repeated use of *πᾶν* refers to the thoroughness of the slave's work for the master. Colossians 3:22 admonishes slaves to be obedient *κατὰ πάντα* to their earthly masters, and not to serve well only in the sight of their masters. Ephesians 6:5-8 does not take up the particular phrase *κατὰ πάντα*, but repeats the theme of slaves not being the mere pleasers of men and teaches slaves to be thorough in their service. Titus 2:9 also touches on the motif of thoroughness by instructing slaves to be well pleasing *ἐν πᾶσιν*. I Peter 2:18 teaches submission to be performed *ἐν παντὶ φόβῳ*, which emphasizes an attitude of respect throughout a slave's service. The author of I Peter interprets this to mean both respect for the Christian and pagan master.<sup>154.</sup> Both the "doing of good" and the

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cit., p. 66.)

<sup>153.</sup>) The traditional wording of the theme is indefinite because of the different representations in the texts.

"universal theme" are included under the instructions for slaves to submit to their masters. The "doing of good" teaches the quality of submission to be rendered to a master, and the "universal theme" teaches the extent to which submission and service are to be given.

Another theme, which does not appear in the traditional instructions for civic obedience, is incorporated under the instructions for the submission of the slaves. Selwyn has observed that

St. Peter bids slaves to be subject ἐν παντί φόβῳ, Ephesians 6:5 μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου, which takes the place of φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον in Colossians. A similar place is assigned to "fear" in St. Peter's next section (iii,2), when he speaks of unbelieving husbands observing τὴν ἐν φόβῳ ἀγνὴν ἀναστροφὴν of their wives. The corresponding section in Ephesians is introduced by the general phrase (Eph. 5:21 ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐν φόβῳ Χριστοῦ and a wife is charged (v 33) ἵνα φοβῇται τὸν ἄνδρα. These facts make it probable that φόβος was given a place in at least the preamble to the Subjecti section, and it would have been in place in each of the three specific relationships where St. Peter mentions it, ii,17, 18, iii, 2. 155.

To concur with Selwyn, it seems likely that there was a place for φόβος in the underlying tradition. However, it is important to define its meaning in the tradition as well as assign it to a particular instruction. Concerning its meaning, there are two usages of φόβος in the haustafeln passages: (i.) the respect of people (I Peter 2:18 and Ephesians 5:33), and (ii.) the "fear" of the Lord (Christ

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154.) Cf. the honor given to all men, I Peter 2:17.

155.) Selwyn, op. cit., p. 175.

and God) in Colossians 3:22, Ephesians 5:21; 6:5 and I Peter 2:17.<sup>156</sup> There is not sufficient evidence to establish a theme in the tradition of "respecting masters" or "respecting husbands" from the texts of I Peter 2:18 and Ephesians 5:33. On the other hand, the appearance of the phrase "fear of the Lord" in the Colossians-Ephesians haustafeln and "fear God" in I Peter 2:17, suggests that φόβος signifies a "fear of the Lord" in the tradition.<sup>157</sup> Selwyn's placement of φόβος (and, implicitly, any theme or motive it represents) in a traditional "preamble" is possible. But on the other hand if the Colossians haustafeln are to be respected as a closer rendering of the tradition than the Ephesians and I Peter haustafeln, the theme "fear of the Lord" would be located in the traditional instructions for slaves. The theme would seem rightly joined to the "universal theme", which stresses the thoroughness of a slave's work. Accordingly, a slave would be thorough in all his work, not seeking to please men, but fearing the Lord.

In summary, three themes are included under the traditional instructions for slaves to submit to their masters. (i.) Slaves are to implement their submission by the "doing of good", which means a faithful fulfillment of the slave's tasks with a good quality of service. (ii.) The extent of a slave's service and submission is

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<sup>156</sup>.) Selwyn, op. cit., p. 431. J. Moffatt, Love in the New Testament, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1929, p. 160, notes that "fear of the Lord" is not a typical Pauline phrase. This suggests that it was probably derived from the traditional source in these Pauline letters.

<sup>157</sup>.) I Peter 3:2 could be referring to the reverence of the Lord.

taught by the instructional theme called the "universal theme". This theme teaches that the slave is to be thorough in all of his work and not only in the sight of the master as a "pleaser of men". (iii.) The third theme exhorts the slave to serve the master in "fear of the Lord". He renders his service to his Master in heaven. Two of these themes, the "doing of good" and the "universal theme", have already been identified with the instructions for civic obedience.

Accompanying the traditional instructions for slaves is a motive within the tradition. The texts of Colossians 3:24f., Ephesians 6:8 and I Peter 2:19 have parallels in their motivations for slaves. Colossians 3:24f. teaches that the slave will receive a reward from God for the service he has rendered to the Lord: 158.

... εἰδότες ὅτι ἀπὸ κυρίου ἀπολήμ-

158.) The following passage from Colossians speaks of serving the Lord Christ. E. Best, One Body in Christ, London, SPCK, 1955, p. 27, n. 1, observes that Paul uses the formula "in Christ" for the mutual duties of husband and wife, and parents and children, but not for masters and servants. He suspects that the duties of one member of the family to the other are duties "in Christ", because the family is a unit (cf. I Cor. 7:12-16) "in Christ". The duties between servants and masters are not "in Christ", because they are not bound by family ties.

The distinction Best observes seems artificial, because Paul uses "in the Lord" only for the duties of wives and children (Col. 3:18,20). If Best's distinction was strictly applied to the text, the duties for husbands and fathers would also have the phrase "in the Lord". Parents, children, husbands, wives and slaves are all bound together by a moral bond as Christians "in the Lord". It would be misleading to say that only family ties have obligations "in the Lord" and that slaves do not have duties "in Christ" or "in the Lord". The relationship between Onesimus and Philemon is to be considered "in the Lord" (Phlm. 16). T. Preiss, Life in Christ, trans. Harold Knight, London, SCM, 1957, p. 40, writes: "Onesimus will be considered not merely as an equal, another member of the church, he will be a member of Philemon's family, a full brother."

ψεσθε τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν τῆς κληρονομίας.  
 τῷ κυρίῳ Χριστῷ δουλεύετε· ὁ γὰρ ἀδικῶν  
 νομίζεται ὃ ἡδίκησεν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν προσω-  
 πολημφία.

159.

Ephesians 6:8 repeats the same motive and mentions the judgment of God for both slaves and freemen:

εἰδότες ὅτι ἕκαστος ἐάν τι ποιῇ  
 ἀγαθόν, τοῦτο νομίζεται παρὰ κυρίου  
 εἴτε δοῦλος εἴτε ἐλεύθερος.

160.

The fundamental motive for slaves in I Peter is to follow the example of Christ. This is to be done whether the slave is under a kind or ill-tempered master. Should the slave suffer unjustly, he would be suffering for righteousness' sake, a theme in I Peter.<sup>161</sup> In every event the slave is to imitate Christ who has suffered under the harsh and unjust treatment of men in his passion and death. Jesus is depicted as the pioneer of the submissive life, a suffering servant, being patient under his unjust suffering and trusting justice to God who judges righteously. I Peter turns submission into a means of pleasing God and a supreme expression of following Jesus:

τοῦτο γὰρ χάρις εἰ διὰ συνείδησιν θεοῦ

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159.) Colossians 3:24f., Nestle.

160.) Ephesians 5:8, Nestle.

161.) I Peter 3:8-22 also mentions suffering for righteousness' sake. This passage is addressed to all within the Christian community. However, the slave's position in society gives him occasions for righteous suffering at the lowest level of the social strata.



ὑποφέρει τις λύπας πάσχων ἀδίκως. ποῖον  
 γὰρ κλέος εἰ ἁμαρτάνοντες καὶ κολαφιζό-  
 μενοι ὑπομενεῖτε; ἀλλ' εἰ ἀγαθοποιοῦντες  
 καὶ πάσχοντες ὑπομενεῖτε, τοῦτο χάρις  
 παρὰ θεῶ. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκλήθητε, ὅτι καὶ  
 Χριστὸς ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὑμῶν ὑπολιμ-  
 πάνων ὑπογραμμὸν ἵνα ἐπακολουθήσητε τοῖς  
 ἴχνεσιν αὐτοῦ· ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν  
 οὐδὲ εὗρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ·  
 ὃς λοιδορούμενος οὐκ ἀντελοιδόρει, πάσχων  
 οὐκ ἠπείλει, παρεδίδου δὲ τῷ κρίνοντι δι-  
 καίως·

162.

This motivational passage primarily stresses the following of Jesus in his suffering but contains similarities to the motivational themes mentioned in Colossians 3:24f. and Ephesians 6:8. Colossians 3:24f. teaches slaves to trust that God will execute his righteous judgment without partiality. Ephesians 6:8 repeats this idea by stating that both slave and free will come under the judgment of God. In the motivational passage from I Peter, Jesus is set forth as the example who trusts all judgment to God: παρεδίδου δὲ τῷ κρίνοντι δικαίως. This theme of trusting God's judgment seems integral to the tradition,<sup>163</sup> although it cannot be identified by a common vocabulary between the three passages.

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162.) I Peter 2:19-23, Nestle.

163.) Supra pp. 29f.

The motivational theme of trusting God's justice is closely linked to the instructional theme of the "fear of the Lord". It is difficult to separate the two themes in the Colossians-Ephesians haustafeln, where service is rendered in "fear of the Lord" with slaves knowing that their deeds (and the deeds of their masters) will be judged by a righteous judge, the Lord.<sup>164</sup> I Peter mentions the "fear of the Lord" theme in a general summary (2:17) before developing the motivational theme of trusting God's justice in connection with the duties for slaves. The author of I Peter brings in the "fear of God" only as a general consideration and desires to unfold the theme of trusting God's justice according to the example of Christ.<sup>165</sup> Of course this example of Christ makes I Peter's instructions for slaves a particular adaptation of the traditional material. It is probable that the Colossians-Ephesians haustafeln are closer to the source than I Peter, and that the two themes (fearing the Lord and trusting God's judgment) were joined together in the underlying tradition: slaves be submissive to your masters ... fearing the Lord and trusting that God will judge men justly.<sup>166</sup>

## 8. Masters.

The evidence for the reciprocal duties for masters is limited

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164.) This is the sequence of ideas in Colossians, which Ephesians rearranges.

165.) I Peter 1:17 unites the two themes.

166.) I Timothy and Titus will be discussed below in regard to a "sensitivity to public opinion" generally associated with the tradition.

to the Colossians-Ephesians haustafeln. Consequently, there are no other cross-references outside these haustafeln by which the tradition may be defined. Again, the Colossians haustafeln must be trusted as closest to the tradition. As may be expected, the Ephesians instruction for masters follows similar wording and expands some ideas of the Colossians text:

Colossians 4:1a.

οἱ κύριοι, τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὴν  
ἰσότητα τοῖς δούλοις παρέχεσθε...

Ephesians 6:9a.

καὶ οἱ κύριοι, τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεῖτε  
πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνιέντες τὴν ἀπειλήν.

167.

Both passages emphasize a fair and just treatment of slaves which is probably the main theme of the traditional instructions. The use of τὰ αὐτὰ in Ephesians is not to be taken as masters submitting to their slaves, but as masters serving the Lord (vs. 7). The saying recalls the introductory phrase in Ephesians 5:21: ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐν φόβῳ Χριστοῦ, where the Christian virtues of submissiveness or humility apply to the master. The motives for masters are identical with the traditional motive for slaves:

Colossians 4:1b.

... εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔχετε  
κύριον ἐν οὐρανῷ.

Ephesians 6:9b.

... εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ  
ὑμῶν ὁ κύριος ἐστὶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς, καὶ  
προσωπολημφία οὐκ ἔστιν παρ' αὐτῷ.

168.

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167.) Colossians 4:1a and Ephesians 6:9a, Nestle.

168.) Colossians 4:1b and Ephesians 6:9b, Nestle. Ephesians 6:9b borrows προσωπολημφία from Colossians 3:25.

It is likely that both slaves and masters were taught by the tradition to be mindful of the righteous judgment of God.

## 9. General Motives

There are some motives which appear in two or more independent haustafeln texts, but not always in connection with the same instruction. This chapter has defined the tradition on the assumption that where a motive occurs with two or more independent haustafeln texts that motive is to be assigned to the tradition.<sup>169</sup> Motives which are joined with more than one particular instruction and occur with two or more independent haustafeln texts are difficult to locate within the tradition, because they cannot easily be assigned to one traditional instruction. Yet they are probably traditional motives by virtue of their frequency in the independent haustafeln texts. It is obvious from the different arrangements of the duties in the haustafeln texts that the New Testament writers did not attempt to hold to a set traditional structure or sequence. The duties are arranged, edited and expanded according to the preference of each author. Consequently, it is not surprising to find traditional motives, which have been joined to one particular instruction in the tradition, attached to different instructions in the haustafeln texts. It is important to review the haustafeln texts already studied in order to define what motives qualify as traditional motives which

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169.) Supra p. 28.

are associated with two or more instructions in the haustafeln texts.

The appeal to conscience in the haustafeln texts does not represent a traditional motive. Romans 13:5 and I Peter 2:19 both mention συνείδησιν in the motives for civic obedience and the submission for slaves respectively. In Romans 13:5 Paul refers to "conscience" as a guide for correct behavior: διὸ ἀνάγκη ὑποτάσσεσθαι, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν. Christians are not only to avoid the wrath of God, which may be considered a negative reason for submitting to authorities, but they are to be guided by conscience according to what is right, which may be considered a positive reason for submission to the authorities. In I Peter 2:19 slaves are exhorted to endure unjust suffering while being mindful of God: τοῦτο γὰρ χάρις εἰ διὰ συνείδησιν θεοῦ ὑποφέρει τις λύπας πάσχων ἀδίκως. The passage continues to teach the example of Jesus as the aim of the slave and the main motivation. The use of the word "conscience" has a different meaning in the two passages. Paul refers to the Christian's conscience as a guide for right action. The author of I Peter is referring to a state of mind, "conscious of God" which is not in itself a motive for submission or a guide for right action. It is an attitude while enduring unjust suffering. These different usages of "conscience" in Romans 13:5 and I Peter 2:19 and the frequent usage of "conscience" in Pauline letters and I Peter indicate that the appearance of "conscience" in these passages is probably a verbal coincidence.<sup>170</sup> Thus, the appeal to



conscience is probably not a traditional motive.<sup>171.</sup>

As Selwyn suspects,<sup>172.</sup> it is likely that the tradition contained a motive for Christians to make a favorable impression on society. This idea is evident in several haustafeln passages. I Peter teaches that good conduct among the gentiles will cause them to praise God (general instructions, 2:12), the doing of right will put to silence the ignorance of foolish men (instructions for civic obedience, 2:15) and the submission of wives to their husbands will convert their husbands (instructions for wives, 3:1ff.).<sup>173.</sup> In the Pastoral Letters, Christian behavior is not to bring blasphemy from the pagan world: the good conduct of wives keeps the word of God from being discredited (Titus 2:5); the honorable treatment of masters by slaves keeps the "teachings" from being defamed (I Timothy 6:1). Also the good deeds of all Christians are profitable to men (Titus 3:8).<sup>174.</sup> This study

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170.) Pauline references are: Romans 2:15; 9:1; I Corinthians 8:7,12; 10:25-29; II Corinthians 1:12;4:2; 5:11; I Timothy 1:5,19;3:9; II Timothy 1:3, cf. Acts 23:1. References in I Peter are : 2:19; 3:16, 21.

171.) Selwyn, op. cit., p. 428, sees an "inward loyalty" as a traditional motive for civic obedience. Selwyn acknowledges that there are no verbal parallels in the texts to support this claim, and cites three passages in the texts for civic obedience which have the same meaning: *διὰ τὸν κύριον* (I Peter), *διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν* (Romans), and *ἐτοίμους εἶναι* (Titus). But it is difficult to read this motive into each phrase. I Peter 2:13 mentions submission *διὰ τὸν κύριον* in reference to bringing honor to God (cf. 2:12,15). Romans 13:5 mentions *συνείδησιν* as a positive guide for right action, in contrast to the negative reason for obeying civic authorities. The phrase *πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐτοίμους εἶναι* in Titus 3:1 refers to the instructional theme for doing good rather than an inner motive for submission.

172.) Selwyn, op. cit., p. 428.

173.) Ibid., pp. 97f., Selwyn explains the relation of the motive to the example of Christ in the letter.

has already noted that the good deeds of the Christians were considered praiseworthy by the pagan society in which they were witnessed.<sup>175</sup> This motive for making a favorable impression on society complements the traditional theme of "doing good" in the general instructions and in the instructions for subordinates.

In summary, the following observations have been made about the instructions contained in the haustafeln tradition. The dominant theme of the instructions in the haustafeln tradition is submission, which is sometimes expanded by subsequent themes. (i.) The tradition likely contained some general instructions which served as an introduction to the civic and domestic instructions: do good in return for evil to all men. The wording is uncertain, but the theme of doing good in response to evil seems to be the main point of the general instructions. (ii.) The instruction for civic obedience requires submission to the civic authorities. As an expansion of this instruction, first the theme of "doing good" specifies a quality of submission which is more than mere obedience or subjection. The Christian is to do good works which are recognized by even pagan authorities and a pagan society as praiseworthy. The tradition may be referring to a practice of the government which rewards those who do good deeds. Secondly, the "universal theme" teaches respect towards all men in society.<sup>176</sup> It seems fitting that both the

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174.) Cf. the reasoning for "good works" in Titus 2:11-14, a passage inserted between two haustafeln instructions (2:9f. and 3:1-8).

175.) Supra p. 46.

176.) The general instructions imply good behavior to opponents to the faith.

instructional themes of "doing good" and the "universal theme" are subsumed under the instructions for civic obedience. Both themes teach the Christians how to live in a pagan world or how to live under pagan rulers. Consequently, the instructions for civic obedience extend to behavior beyond a Christian response to civic authority. (iii.) The predominant instruction for wives is submission, which is represented by a participial imperative. In addition, wives are taught the virtues of quietness and good works, which are their adornment in contrast to gold and garments. (iv.) The traditional instructions for husbands emphasize a considerate attitude towards wives. (v.) As a form of submission, children are taught to "obey" their parents. (vi.) The reciprocal duties for fathers stress the considerate attitude of the father to children, which is an attitude consistent with the raising of children in the discipline and admonition of the Lord. (vii.) The traditional instruction for slaves is to submit to their masters, which is represented by a participial imperative and explained by doing good, being thorough and fearing the Lord. The theme of doing good specifies a quality of submission: the routine tasks of the slave are to be fulfilled with a high quality of service. The "universal theme" admonishes slaves to be thorough in their service to masters. Furthermore, all service is to be rendered "in fear of the Lord". (viii.) In return, masters are to be fair and considerate with their slaves, according to the traditional instructions. Throughout the traditional haustafeln there is a general attitude of humility on the part of both subordinates and superiors.

Most of the motives in the haustafeln texts are additions by the individual authors, but there are at least two motivational themes integral to the tradition. (i.) The motives accompanying the instructions for civic obedience, wives and husbands, and children and fathers do not belong to the tradition. They are motives added by the individual authors which usually reflect an epistolary theme. The most obvious example is the duties for wives and husbands in Ephesians 5:21ff. Both wives and husbands are urged to emulate the unity between Christ and the church. This theme of unity is pervasive throughout Ephesians. In general, the writers using the haustafeln tradition exhibited a remarkable genius for weaving the traditional material into the theological themes of the epistles. (ii.) The only evidence for traditional motives appears in the duties for slaves and masters and the general consideration that Christians should make a favorable impression on a pagan society. (a.) Both slaves and masters are to fear the righteous judgment of God. (b.) The concern for impressing a pagan society is found in several passages which do not all have the same instruction. It is difficult to locate this motive in the tradition, but it seems to have a connection with the instructional theme for "doing good" (cf. I Peter 2:12). The doing of good works is a means of impressing a secular society in the general instructions of the tradition.

### C. Conclusions

The first task of this chapter has been to define the underlying tradition of the haustafeln texts. Some forms, instructions



and motives, which have been cited in this study within two or more haustafeln texts, are considered to be traditional characteristics of the haustafeln.<sup>177</sup> Some characteristics are represented by more texts than others. On this account, any study of the tradition can only define what was probably in the source material, with some characteristics having higher probability of being traditional than others. In many respects the tradition is obscure, because the New Testament writers often worded the traditional material for their own purposes. This has been noticed on a number of occasions where the writer has molded the tradition into themes of the various letters. There are numerous instances where the writer deviates from the traditional wording, but keeps the traditional theme. Consequently, the wording of the tradition is almost completely lost, and the tradition must be identified in terms of instructional and motivational themes, with some reference to possible vocabulary of the themes. Despite the limitations on defining the tradition, this study has outlined some probable characteristics of haustafeln forms, instructions and motives, which may be compared with Jewish and Greek ethics in order to locate haustafeln origins.

The haustafeln form has been studied under the headings of the "sequence" and "structure" of the duties. (A.) Concerning the sequence of the duties, the following conclusions may be drawn. (i.) The general instructions for Christians to repay evil with good works in-

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177.) This general principle has been used with considerable discretion in the light of the literary dependency among the epistles, supra pp. 28ff.



roduce the haustafeln traditional instructions for specific duties. (ii.) This is followed by the duty for Christian civic obedience which assumes a priority in the list of duties. The duty is not present in the Colossians-Ephesians haustafeln, but it may have been added to the traditional material as the Christian church attempted to define its relationship to the state. (iii.) The probable sequence of the traditional duties seems to follow a descending order of importance of relationships within the household. The duties of wives and husbands are followed by the duties of children and fathers and, finally, servants and masters. The duties among the family relationships precede the duties of slaves, who are in the home on a contractual basis. (iv.) In the reciprocal duties the mention of the subordinate before the superior suggests that the haustafeln were primarily directed towards the subordinates. The duties for superiors might have been secondary additions. (B.) Concerning the word structure of the duties, the familiar pattern of address, instruction and motive is particularly characteristic of the haustafeln tradition. The significance of this word structure will be seen in a comparative study with Greek and Jewish ethics. Both the nominative of address and the participial imperative are suspected by David Daube to have Jewish origins.<sup>178.</sup>

The haustafeln instructional theme "to be submissive" has a broad meaning, as indicated by its usage for different social relationships. Submission to the state is much different than a wife's

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<sup>178.</sup>) See the discussion below on the origins of haustafeln forms and Palestinian Jewish background, pp. 174ff.

submission to her husband or a slave's submission to his master. Yet the same theme of submission is used constantly.<sup>179</sup> At times this theme is expanded by subsidiary themes, such as the "doing of good" or the "universal theme". The submissive relationships between wives and husbands or children and parents would be self-evident, conventional social ethics which do not need further development by subsidiary themes. Except for the additional teaching for wives to adorn themselves with the virtues of silence and good works, only the individual authors of the epistles expand the idea of submission in the family relationships. This is usually an expansion according to an epistolary theme, in order to weave the traditional material into the letters. The traditional material is developed much more thoroughly in the instructions for civic obedience and the submission of slaves. Perhaps the instructions for submission in these more impersonal relationships of the Christian citizen to the state and the slave to the master required more clarification than the intimate relationships of the household do. Whatever the reason, the instructions for civic obedience and the obedience of slaves are developed by the subsequent themes of "doing good" and the "universal theme". The "good works" of a Christian citizen or Christian slave are not delineated by specific instructions. By the doing of good in civic action the Christian citizen is to exhibit social behavior which is recognized and possibly rewarded by civic officials. By doing good in household service the slave is to render

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179.) The instruction for children is to "obey" parents, which may be considered a form of submission.

high quality service. The universal theme in the instructions for slaves denotes the thoroughness of a slave's service. The universal theme in the instructions for civic obedience teaches the extent to which honor is to be given in social relationships. Therefore, in the context of each instruction the subsidiary themes lend particular meaning to the instruction for submission.

Motives are not prominent in the haustafeln tradition. Only two motivational themes have been identified in the traditional material: trusting the judgment of God and making a favorable impression on society. Consequently, the traditional haustafeln duties usually consist of only an address and an instruction, with the motive supplied by the individual author. For the most part, the motives in the haustafeln texts are added by the individual authors in order to tie the tradition to the subjects and themes of the letters. This conclusion challenges the common assumption that the motives were added in order to make "Greek" or "pagan" codes Christian.<sup>180</sup> Commenting on Colossians 3:18ff., Weidinger may be correct in saying: "Löst man das ἐν κυρίῳ aber ab, so bleibt nichts übrig, was nicht ein Stoiker oder ein jüdischer Lehrer sagen könnte."<sup>181</sup> But the motives such as ἐν κυρίῳ were not added to the tradition to make the haustafeln Christian. The haustafeln were already Christian by

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180.) Wand, I Peter, p. 6; Moule, Colossians, p. 129; Clarke, New Testament Problems, pp. 158ff. among others.

181.) Weidinger, op. cit., p. 51.

virtue of their use in the traditional teachings of the church.<sup>182.</sup>

Any reconstruction of the haustafeln tradition is only an approximation because of the difficulties in recovering the wording and motifs. The following summary is made in accordance with the findings of this study: "To all men repay evil with good in order that you favorably impress non-Christians and bring them to honor God. Be subject (ὑποτάγητε ) to the civic authorities, who punish those who do evil and praisie those who do good, by doing good and honoring all men. Wives, ( αἱ γυναῖκες ) be submissive to your husbands ( ὑποτασσόμεναι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν ). Let your adornment be a quiet person and good works, not gold and garments. Husbands, love your wives ( οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπάτε τὰς γυναῖκας ). Children, obey your parents ( τὰ τέκνα, ὑπακούετε τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὑμῶν ). Fathers , ( οἱ πατέρες ) do not be harsh with your children. Slaves, be submissive to your masters ( οἱ δοῦλοι, ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν ) by doing good and being thorough in your work. Fear the Lord, knowing that you may trust the judgment of the Lord who judges all men justly. Masters, ( οἱ κύριοι ) be just and fair towards your slaves, knowing you also have an impartial judge in heaven." This definition of the tradition is a basis for comparing the haustafeln tradition to Greek and Jewish ethics.

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182.) The distinctive elements of the haustafeln which are Christian will be discussed in the comparative studies with Greek and Jewish material.



## III. THE BACKGROUND OF POPULAR STOIC ETHICS

Karl Weidinger has set forth the prevailing theory concerning the Hellenistic origins of the New Testament haustafeln. Weidinger's theory is summarized in the sixth chapter of *Die Haustafeln*.<sup>1</sup> According to Weidinger, before Zeno there were some duties in the moral consciousness of Greek civilization which were designated as "unwritten laws".<sup>2</sup> Weidinger cites Sophocles and Xenophon who mention the "unwritten laws" generally accepted among men.<sup>3</sup> Wei-

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1.) Weidinger, op. cit., pp. 37ff.

2.) Ibid., pp. 46f.

3.) Ibid., pp. 46f. (See also Clarke, New Testament Problems, pp. 157f., who cites the same two classical authors.) In Sophocles' *Antigone* (ll. 454ff.), Antigone disobeys the edict of the king, Creon, and buries her brother. Accounting for her disobedience, she replies that she must follow the "unwritten laws" of the gods. Xenophon (c. 440B.C.-354) refers to some "unwritten laws" concerning the gods and parents in the *Memorabilia* (IV, 19f.). In the dialogue between Socrates and Hippas, Hippas mentions these laws as universally held among men: to fear the gods and honor parents. Presumably, there are other laws besides these two.

Also to be considered as texts of popular ethics are the texts from Isocrates (436B.C.-338) and the account of the sixth century Pythagoras in Diogenes Laertius. (See Weidinger, op. cit., p. 20; Kenneth E. Kirk, The Vision of God, p. 120, note 8; Clarke, op. cit., pp. 157ff.) Isocrates, who considered himself a Sophist, writes two essays, To Demonicus and To Nicocles, in which he discusses the proper ethical life for these two young rulers. To Demonicus is addressed to a young monarch whose father has recently died and instructs him in three categories of ethics: man in relation to the gods, to parents and to himself. For the text and translation: see G. Norlin, ed. and trans. Isocrates, I, London, Wm. Heinemann, MCMXXVIII, pp. 2ff. To Nicocles repeats the same order of obligations towards gods, parents, kinsmen and friends. For the text and translation see Norlin, op. cit., pp. 50, 52. Pythagoras is reported by the work of Diogenes Laertius (VIII, 22f.) to have taught his disciples duties towards elders, gods and parents among other obligations. For text and translation see: R.D. Hicks, trans., Diogenes Laertius, II, London, Wm. Heinemann, MCMXXV, pp. 340f.



dinger maintains that Zeno (336B.C.-264) adopted this unwritten popular ethic for his practical ethics known as τὸ καθῆκον.<sup>4</sup> At this point the popular Greek ethics became a part of practical stoic ethics, those actions which are appropriate or fitting.<sup>5</sup> Weidinger presents a number of citations from Hellenistic writers to support this thesis.<sup>6</sup> The similarity of the duties in the classical authors (i.e. Pythagoras, Sophocles, Xenophon and Isocrates) with the duties in the Hellenistic authors of Stoic philosophy establishes a continuity between the popular ethics of classical Greece and the practical ethics of Stoicism. This continuity is important for Weidinger's thesis. He argues that Zeno did not fabricate some practical ethics by himself, but borrowed what was popularly known and respected in Hellenism as reasonable acts of behavior. Once this step had been taken by Zeno, the popular duties towards gods, parents, kinsmen etc. continued to exist as a widely known ethic in Hellenism and a practical ethic in Stoicism. In time Hellenistic Judaism of the Diaspora assimilated the popular Stoic duties.<sup>7</sup>

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4.) Weidinger, op. cit., pp. 46f. For references to Diogenes Laertius see p. 38. See Diogenes Laertius VII, 108f. For the text and translation see: R.D. Hicks, op. cit., pp. 212, 214. Weidinger, op. cit., p. 44, cites Sextus Empiricus' Outlines of Pyrrhonism, III, 245-8, as a reference to the καθῆκον of Zeno.

5.) For a discussion of these duties in Stoic philosophy see: J.M. Rist, Stoic Philosophy, Cambridge, University Press, 1969, pp. 97ff.

6.) Weidinger, op. cit., pp. 27ff. Not all of the Stoic philosophers included τὸ καθῆκον as a section of their philosophy because it was practical rather than theoretical ethics. The majority of Weidinger's evidence is taken from Epictetus.

7.) Weidinger, op. cit., pp. 48f. "Popular Stoic duties" refers to

into its teachings for propaganda purposes. Weidinger sees haustafeln precedents therefore in three distinct areas: the oral popular ethics of Hellenism, Stoic popular philosophy and propaganda literature of Hellenistic Judaism. When Christianity spread beyond the bounds of Palestine into broader Greek regions, it recognized that the heathen had a natural law which guided and judged their own behavior (cf. Romans 2:14). Weidinger argues that on this basis Christianity adopted the heathen laws which conformed to Christian standards. In the case of the haustafeln, Christianity may have borrowed the popular Stoic ethics from either pagan or Jewish sources.<sup>8</sup> At least there are precedents in Hellenistic texts which suggest that the New Testament haustafeln had Hellenistic origins. Although it is difficult to argue the existence of an oral tradition from literary sources,<sup>9</sup> it seems reasonable to accept the theory that Zeno incorporated into his doctrine of "appropriate acts" a conventional ethic of the day, which taught proper regard for the gods and other civic and domestic obligations.

Having accepted this much of Weidinger's thesis, this chapter

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the religious, civic and domestic duties in Stoic popular philosophy which reflect the popular ethics of Hellenism.

8.) Weidinger, op. cit., p. 50, suspects that Christianity borrowed the popular Stoic ethics directly from Hellenistic Judaism, but states that whether they were directly taken from Hellenistic Judaism or pagan sources is not significant. Compare his discussion on page 22, which mentions the Christians' acquaintance with the oral tradition of Hellenism.

9.) Most of the texts have been gathered together by Weidinger, op. cit., pp. 23ff., 27ff.

discusses the evidence for Hellenistic haustafeln origins in Stoic writings. The field of inquiry for this chapter is popular Hellenistic ethics as they are known in the popular household ethics of Stoic philosophy. Most of the evidence has already been assembled by Weidinger.<sup>10</sup> In dealing with this material there is no reason to believe that the New Testament haustafeln tradition is closer than the Stoic texts to the popular Hellenistic oral tradition.<sup>11</sup> It will be noticed that the New Testament haustafeln texts and tradition are much more elaborate than the popular Stoic ethics under study.<sup>12</sup> It may be assumed that the less developed scheme of household ethics which emerge from a study of the Stoic texts is closer than the New Testament haustafeln tradition to the popular Hellenistic oral tradition. It will be argued that the whole New

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10.) Weidinger, op. cit., pp. 27ff. No other haustafeln study adds further evidence to that collected by Weidinger in this field of inquiry.

11.) Weidinger, op. cit., p. 19, states that our knowledge of Christian paraenesis stems from literature which stands relatively close to the verbal instructions of popular "Folk-moral". He continues to argue that we know the Hellenistic world only through texts, literature reflecting the morals of the upper educated class. Only in one instance, Weidinger says, do we have direct accounts of popular morals, which Arrian has handed down to us in the dissertations of Epictetus. But for the most part we are dependent on various forms of literature which originated from popular morals. In response to Weidinger's comments, it must be agreed that our evidence is indirect concerning the recovery of an oral tradition. If the Stoic doctrine of "appropriate acts" referred to duties taught by the common opinion of mankind (E.V. Arnold, Roman Stoicism, Cambridge, University Press, 1911, p. 302) it may be assumed that these authors incorporated the conventional ethics of their day into the "appropriate acts".

12.) There is no evidence that Zeno (and other early Stoics) gave detailed expositions on the "appropriate acts". This task was seemingly left to the later Stoics (E. Zeller, The Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics, trans. O.J. Reichel, London, Longmans, Green, 1880, 281 Con-

Testament haustafeln tradition is a combination of Greek and Jewish ethics with considerable Christian elaboration. Consequently, the New Testament haustafeln tradition would seem further away than the codes in the Stoic texts from any popular Hellenistic ethic. Therefore, this chapter describes the Stoic household codes as representing a popular oral tradition which was a familiar ethic to the New Testament church and an antecedent to the haustafeln.

#### A. The Form of the Household Codes in Popular Stoic Ethics.

The chapter on the New Testament haustafeln tradition defined the form of the haustafeln tradition in terms of the haustafeln sequence and structure of the duties. This chapter provides an analysis of the sequence and structure of the duties within the household codes of Stoic texts, in order that the form of the haustafeln tradition may be compared to the form of the household codes in popular Stoic ethics.

The household codes of popular Stoic ethics contain a sequence of religious, civic and domestic duties. The domestic duties may include obligations towards any number of people within the family and other relations and friends to whom one owes respect. Beginning

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sequently, most of the evidence for popular Stoic ethics under study is taken from Stoic writings within the New Testament period: the writings of Seneca, Musonius Rufus, Dio Chrysostom and Epictetus.



with the account of Zeno in Diogenes Laertius' writings and ending with the writings of the Stoics contemporary with the New Testament, this chapter will describe the form of the household ethics in popular Stoic philosophy.<sup>13.</sup>

(i.) Diogenes Laertius represents and quotes numerous other Greek authors and describes the meaning of "appropriate acts" in the philosophy of Zeno, the founder of Stoicism. According to Diogenes Laertius, Zeno was first to coin the term as representing "action in itself adapted to nature's arrangements."<sup>14.</sup> These "appropriate acts" include the reasonable obligations one has towards members of his immediate family, his country and his friends:

καθήκοντα μὲν οὖν εἶναι ὅσα λόγος αἰρεῖ ποιεῖν,  
ὡς ἔχει τὸ γονεῖς τιμᾶν, ἀδελφούς, πατρίδα, συμ-  
περιφέρεισθαι φίλοις· παρὰ τὸ καθήκον δέ, ὅσα  
μὴ αἰρεῖ λόγος, ὡς ἔχει τὰ τοιαῦτα, γονέων ἀ-  
μελεῖν, ἀδελφῶν ἀφροντιστεῖν, φίλοις μὴ συνδια-  
τίθεσθαι, πατρίδα ὑπερορᾶν καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια<sup>15.</sup>

It should also be noted that Diogenes Laertius discusses the doctrines of Stoic ethics in an order resembling the list of "appropriate

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13.) This description of the household codes in Stoicism is taken as a close rendering of the Hellenistic popular oral tradition. Some of the texts contemporary with the New Testament writings fall within the Graeco-Roman period, strictly speaking, but it will be noticed that they are similar to earlier Hellenistic texts. Thus they are taken to be representative of a Hellenistic ethical tradition.

14.) See Weidinger, op. cit., p. 38. R.D. Hicks, op. cit., pp. 212.



acts" in the ethics of Zeno: duties towards the gods (VII, 119); family relations (VII, 120), the state (VII, 121), slaves (VII, 122) and friends (VII, 124).<sup>16</sup> There is no evidence that these duties were expounded by other early Stoics, or that Zeno included any more duties than those mentioned in Diogenes Laertius VII, 108f.

(ii.) Through the writings of Cicero,<sup>17</sup> who debates the virtues of honesty in monetary transactions, there is a quotation from Hecato, an influential member of the middle-Stoic school and pupil of Panaetius (c. 185 B.C. -- 109).<sup>18</sup> The quotation does not contain a list of duties, but argues that men should aim for their own interests because the wealth of a man is also the wealth of his children, relatives, friends and above all his country.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, the man who looks after his self-interests in monetary affairs also fulfills his obligations in accordance with the "appropriate acts" of Stoic teachings.

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15.) Hicks, op. cit., pp. 213f. Hicks' translation: "Befitting acts are all those which reason prevails with us to do; and this is the case with honoring one's parents, brothers and country, and intercourse with friends. Unbefitting, or contrary to duty, are all acts that reason deprecates, e.g. to neglect one's parents, to be indifferent to one's brothers, not to agree with friends, to disregard the interest of one's country, and so forth."

16.) Hicks, op. cit., pp. 224f.

17.) Cicero, de Officiis, III, 15, 63. See Weidinger, op. cit., p. 39.

18.) OCD, p. 407.

19.) For text and translation see Walter Miller, trans., Cicero, De Officiis, London, Wm. Heinemann, MCMXIII, pp. 332f. For other references to Heccato see Seneca's de Beneficiis, II, 18, 2; III, 18, 1, which discuss the relations between husband and wife and slave and master, but do not give a list of haustafeln-like duties.

(iii.) Cicero himself, who tended towards Stoic ethics,<sup>20.</sup> shows some signs of repeating the list of Stoic duties in the conclusion of de Officiis, Book I, 17:

Sed si contentio quaedam et comparatio fiat, quibus plurimum tribuendum sit officii, principes sint patria et parentes, quorum beneficiis maximis obligati sumus, proximi liberi totaque domus, quae spectat in nos solos neque aliud ullum potest habere perfugium, deinceps bene convenientes propinqui, quibuscum communis etiam fortuna plerumque est.

21.

(iv.) The Roman lyric poet and satirist Horace (65 B.C. -- 8) may also be drawing upon the scheme of Stoic duties in Ars Poetica (312-316), where he instructs the would-be dramatist to first learn about life from his studies and then to turn to real life for his own observations. When the student of drama has learned what he owes to his country, parents, brother, guest and other people within office, he then knows how to give each character on stage his proper part. The first four of these listed obligations bear resemblance

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20.) Miller, op. cit., p. xi. OCD, p. 190, mentions Cicero following the Stoic Panaetius in the first two books of de Officiis. See Weidinger, op. cit., p. 38, for the text. Weidinger, op. cit., p. 39, also cites Polybius' (c. 203B.C. -- c. 120) Histories 18,41, 8-9, where the Stoic ethical scheme may be used as a criterion for valuing the life of Attalus. But he does not present a list of Stoic duties in this passage.

21.) Miller, op. cit., p. 60f. Miller's translation: "Now, if a contrast and comparison were to be made to find out where most of our moral obligations is due, country would come first, and parents; for their services have laid us under the heaviest obligation; next come children and the whole family, who look to us alone for support and can have no other protection; finally our kinsmen with whom we live on good terms, for the most part our lot is one."

to the Stoic duties, but does not provide evidence for Stoic duties as a teaching in Stoicism.<sup>22</sup> The reference to these loyalties towards the state, family and friends only indicates that such loyalties were popularly recognized as proper or "fitting" in the Hellenistic world.

The major portion of evidence for the popular Stoic duties within Stoic writings appears in four Stoic writers contemporary with the New Testament: Seneca (1/4 A.D. -- 63), Musonius Rufus (before 30 A.D. -- before 102), Dio Chrysostom (40 A.D. -- 120) and Epictetus (55 A.D. -- c. 135). The writings of these authors call for special attention because they probably represent the popular household ethics of Stoicism as they would have been known to the New Testament church, not necessarily through Stoicism but through the popular oral tradition. If Weidinger's thesis is correct, these writers represent a Stoic tradition of duties, τὸ καθήκον, although these duties are not always listed under this title.

(v.) Seneca mentions these household duties in two passages. In Letter 94 he discusses whether doctrines without practical precepts are sufficient for the student or philosopher. In Letter 95 he questions whether precepts without doctrines will suffice, con-

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22.) For the citation in Weidinger see Die Haustafeln, p. 39. For the text and translation see: E. Capps, T.E. Page, W.H.D. Rouse, editors, Horace Satires, Epistles, Ars Poetica, trans. H.R. Fairclough, London, Wm. Heinemann, MCMXXVI, pp. 467f., (Ars Poetica or ad Pisones, 312--316.)

cluding that both precepts and doctrines are necessary and complementary to each other:

Eam partem philosophiae, quae dat propria cuique personae praecepta nec in universum componit hominem, sed marito suadet quomodo se gerat adversus uxorem, patri quomodo educet liberos, domino quomodo servos regat, quidam solam receperunt, ceteras quasi extra utilitatem nostram vagantes reliquerunt, tamquam quis posset de parte suadere nisi qui summam prius totius vitae complexus est.

23.

In particulas suasisse totum ordinanti parum est. M. Brutus in eo libro, quem περι καθήκοντα inscripsit, dat multa praecepta et parentibus et liberis et fratribus; haec nemo faciet quemadmodum debet, nisi habuerit quo referat.

24.

These passages demonstrate that Seneca was familiar with a list of precepts in Stoic teachings which included obligations towards par-

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23.) Letter 94,1. The text is taken from Richard M. Gummere, editor and translator, Seneca, ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales, I, London, Wm. Heinemann, Ltd., MCMXVII, pp. 10f. Gummere's translation: "That department of philosophy which supplies precepts appropriate to the individual case, instead of forming them for mankind at large -- which, for instance, advises how a husband should conduct himself towards his wife or how a father should bring up children, or how a master should rule his slaves -- this department of philosophy, is accepted by some as the only significant part, while the other departments of philosophy are rejected on the grounds that they stray beyond the sphere of practical needs -- as if man could give advice concerning a portion of life without having first gained a knowledge of the sum of life as a whole."

24.) Letter 95,45. Ibid., pp. 86f. Gummere's translation: "It is not enough when a man is arranging his existence as a whole, to give him advice about details. Marcus Brutus, in a book Concerning Duties, gives many precepts to parents, children and brothers, but no one will do his duties as he ought, unless he has some principle to which he may refer his conduct."

Weidinger cites this passage, op. cit., p. 38.



ents, children, brothers, spouse and slave. He mentions these duties as they are taught by the Stoic Marcus Brutus<sup>25</sup>. and presumably other philosophers, but not as they are contained in any popular oral ethic of the day.

(vi.) A lesser known Stoic philosopher, Musonius Rufus, also taught duties towards the fatherland and family. As a Stoic in the first century, Musonius Rufus was banished from Rome with the philosopher Rubellius Plautus (c. 60A.D.). It is not known if he had written any books, but many of his discourses are preserved. In the following passage he speaks of the philosopher who also gives heed to practical duties:

εἰ τοίνυν καὶ εὐκτὰ ταῦτα καὶ αἰρετά, πῶς  
οὐ καὶ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν θείη ἅν τις καὶ εὐκ-  
τὸν καὶ αἰρετόν, δι' οὗ μόνου περιγίνεται  
ταῦτα; φιλοσοφεῖ μὲν γὰρ ὁ τῆς ἐκκαθάρσεως  
τοῦ λόγου ἐπιμελούμενος καὶ ἐπιτηδεύων λόγον  
ὀρθόν, ὁ δ' ἐπιμελούμενος λόγου ἑαυτοῦ τε  
ἅμα ἐπιμελεῖται καὶ πατρίδος καὶ πατρὸς καὶ  
ἀδελφῶν καὶ φίλων καὶ συλλαβόντι εἰπεῖν πάν-  
των.

26.

25.) OCD, 2nd edition, p. 183, mentions this philosopher.

26.) Παγκρατιδῆ, paragraph 8, Otto Hense, editor, C. Musonii Rufi Reliquiae, Leipzig, B.G. Teubneri, 1905, pp. 140f., writer's translation:



In another passage of the Παγκρατιδῇ Musonius speaks more precisely on the order of duties:

οὐκ ἂν δὲ ἐθελήσειας αὐτοὺς ἐπεσκεμμένους  
τὰ θεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πρὸς θεοὺς εὖσε-  
βεῖα καὶ ὁσιότητι κοσμεῖσθαι, πρὸς ἀν-  
θρώπους δὲ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ὁσιότητι, καὶ  
πατρίδα μὲν γονέων προτιμᾶν, καὶ αὐτῶν  
τοῦτο βουλευσομένων τῶν γονέων εἴπερ σω-  
φρονοῖεν, γονεῖς δὲ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ συγ-  
γενῶν ...

27.

Honor of the fatherland is given first priority, followed by honor of parents, other household relations and kinsmen.

(vii.) Dio Chrysostom, a Stoic of Rome until banishment about 82 A.D., wrote four discourses on kingship ( περὶ βασιλείας ) towards the end of his life. In the final discourse Alexander the Great is

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"Indeed, if these things are both wished for and desired, surely one would also regard philosophy as something wished for and desired, through which only these things are established? For he pursues knowledge who cares for the purification of reason and attends to correct reason, and he who cares for reason at the same time cares for himself and for fatherland and brothers and friends and, in a word, all men."

27.) Par. 5, Παγκρατιδῇ, Ibid., p. 139, writer's translation: "Would you not desire them examining the affairs of gods and the affairs of men, on the one hand to pay honor to the gods in fear and piety, and to men in justice and piety, and to honor fatherland before parents, and parents themselves will want this if they are wise, and parents before friends and kinsmen...? (The entire paragraph is put into the interrogative construction.)"

conversing with Diogenes, who claims that the real king is the son of Zeus, as Homer testifies. Diogenes explains the character of a ruler which designates him a true king. These attributes do not include possession of military power and wide dominion. Any kind of selfish disposition is not suitable for a king. The author concludes with a description of the avaricious man, who does not keep his family obligation:

Εἶεν· ὁ μὲν δὴ φιλοχρήματος δαίμων χρυσοῦ  
καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ γῆς καὶ βοσκημάτων καὶ συν-  
οικιῶν καὶ πάσης κτήσεως ἐραστής. ἄρα οὐκ  
ἂν σκυθρωπὸς τε καὶ συννεφὴς ἰδεῖν ἐν σχήματι  
ταπεινῷ καὶ ἀγεννεῖ πλάττοιτο ὑπο δημιουργοῦ  
μὴ φαύλου τὴν τεχνην; αὐχμηρὸς καὶ ῥυπῶν, οὔτε  
παῖδας ἢ γονέας οὔτε πατρίδα φιλῶν, ἢ συγ-  
γένειαν ἄλλο τι νομίζων ἢ τὰ χρήματα, τοὺς δὲ  
θεοὺς πλεον οὐδὲν εἶναι λογιζόμενος ἢ ὅτι  
πολλοὺς αὐτῷ καὶ μεγάλους θησαυροὺς παραδεί-  
κνυσιν ἢ θανάτους οἰκείων τινῶν καὶ συγγενῶν,  
ὅπως ἔχοι κληρονομεῖν, τὰς δὲ ἐορτὰς ζημίαν  
ἄλλως ἡγούμενος καὶ ματαίαν δαπάνην, ἀγέλαστος  
καὶ ἀμειδίατος, ὑφορώμενος ἅπαντας καὶ βλαβεροὺς  
ἡγούμενος καὶ ἀπιστῶν πᾶσιν, ἀρπακτικὸν βλέπων,  
ἄετι κινῶν τοῦς δακτύλους ἥτοι τὴν αὐτοῦ λογιζό-  
μενος οὐσίαν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τινός, ... 28.

28.) Περὶ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ: Δ , 91f., J.W. Cohoon, editor and translator, Dio Chrysostom, I, London, Wm. Heinemann, MCMXXXII, pp. 210ff., Co-

The same practical duties are considered virtues in the following text from Dio Chrysostom's Περὶ Ἀρετῆς:

... καλῶς μὲν αὐτῶν δυνάμενοι προΐστασθαι, καλῶς  
δὲ οἶκον οἰκῆσαι, καλῶς δὲ ἄρξαι πόλεως, εὖ  
δὲ πλοῦτον ἐνεγκεῖν, εὖ δὲ πενίαν, εὖ δὲ  
προσενεχθῆναι φίλοις, εὖ δὲ συγγενέσι, δικαίως  
δ' ἐπιμεληθῆναι γονέων, ὁσίως δὲ θεραπεῦσαι  
θεοὺς. 29.

Both of these passages from the writings of Dio Chrysostom mention household relationships, e.g. parents to children and children to parents, but arrange the duties for each relationship in a different order. If Dio Chrysostom is reproducing some commonly known Stoic

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hoon's translation: "Well then, the avaricious spirit craves gold, silver, lands, cattle, blocks of houses and every kind of possession. Would it not be represented by a good artist as down cast and gloomy of appearance, humble and mean of dress -- aye, as squalid and ragged, loving neither children nor parents nor native land and recognizing no kinship but that of money, and considering the gods as nothing more than that which reveals to him many vast treasures or the death of certain kinsfolk and connections from whom he might inherit, regarding the holy festivals as sheer loss and useless expense, never laughing or smiling, eying all with suspicion and thinking them dangerous, distrusting everybody having a rapacious look, even twitching his fingers as he computes his own property, I take it or that of someone else..."

29.) Weidinger, op. cit., pp. 34f., writer's translation: "Being able to manage themselves well, and to manage a home well, and to rule a state well, to bear wealth and poverty well, to deal with friends well, and to deal with kinsmen well, and to take care of parents justly, and to serve the gods." This passage bears some resemblance to the household duties of other Stoic texts cited in this study, but also contains some obligations or virtues added by the author himself, e.g. "to bear wealth and poverty well".

duties, he does not follow one set order.

(viii.) The Stoic philosopher Epictetus referred to practical household duties extensively in his writings. As a slave Epictetus heard lectures from Musonius Rufus, whom we have already cited as a Stoic who taught these duties. Epictetus acquired several distinguished followers who published some of his works posthumously. The following citations are taken from three of the four books of his philosophical discourses. (a.) In one instance (I,29,39) Epictetus teaches that each one of his pupils has been placed within common relationships where they are to perform their obligations:

δέδοται σοι σῶμα τοιοῦτον, γονεῖς τοιοῦτοι, ἀδελφοὶ τοιοῦτοι, πατρὶς τοιαύτη, τάξεις ἐν αὐτῇ τοιαύτη<sup>30</sup>.

(b.) In Book II,10 Epictetus asks the question, "How is it possible to discover a man's duties for the designations which he bears?"

( πῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων τὰ καθήκοντα ἔστιν εὑρίσκειν; ). He answers this question by referring to the same duties:

Σκέψαι τίς εἶ. τὸ πρῶτον ἄνθρωπος, ...  
ἐπὶ τούτοις πολίτης εἶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ

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30.) I,29,39, W.A. Oldfather, editor and translator, Epictetus, The Discourses as Reported by Arrian, The Manual and Fragments, I, London, Wm. Heinemann, MCMXXVIII, pp. 196f. Oldfather's translation: "You have been given such a body, such parents, such brothers, such a country, such a position in it."

31.) Ibid., pp. 274ff. Oldfather's translation: "Consider who you are, first a man ... in addition to this you are a citizen of the world, and a part of it."

μέρος αὐτοῦ, ...

31.

In another text, (c.) II, 10, 7, Epictetus reasons that society is to be governed according to the good of the whole ( τῶν ὅλων ), because the whole society is sovereign over the individual citizen. Therefore, a citizen is to be a component of the whole of society with duties to the sovereign state. Secondly, a man is to bear in mind that he is a son: Μετὰ τοῦτο μέμνησο, ὅτι υἱὸς εἶ . This consideration implies duties towards parents:

πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ πατρός, πάντα  
 ὑπακούειν, μηδέποτε φέξαι πρὸς τινα μηδὲ  
 βλαβερόν τι αὐτῷ εἰπεῖν ἢ πρᾶξαι, ἐξίστασθαι  
 ἐν πᾶσιν καὶ παραχωρεῖν συνεργοῦντα κατὰ  
 δύναμιν ...

32.

Thirdly, a man is to consider that he is a brother ( Μετὰ τοῦτο ἴσθι ὅτι καὶ ἀδελφὸς εἶ ) .<sup>33</sup> Likewise, this consideration implies obligations:

καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον ὀφείλεται παρα-  
 χώρησις, εὐπείθεια, εὐφημία, μηδέποτε ἄντιποιή-  
 σασθαί τινος πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν ἀπροαιρέτων, ἀλλ'

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32.) II, 10, 7, Ibid., pp. 276ff. Oldfather's translation: "To treat everything that is his own as belonging to his father, to be obedient to him in all things, never to speak ill of him to anyone else, nor to say or do anything that will harm him, to give to him in everything and yield him precedence, helping him as far as within his power."

33.) II, 10, 8, Ibid., p. 276.



ἡδέως ἐκεῖνα προίεσθαι, ἵν' ἐν τοῖς προ-  
αιρετικοῖς πλέον ἔχῃς. 34.

Fourthly, other considerations of one's station in life (father, governor of the town, young man, old man, etc.) imply reasonable or appropriate actions:

Μετὰ ταῦτα εἰ βουλευτῆς πόλεως τινος, ὅτι  
βουλευτῆς· εἰ νέος, ὅτι νέος· εἰ πρεσβύτης,  
ὅτι πρεσβύτης· εἰ πατήρ, ὅτι πατήρ. ἀεὶ  
γὰρ ἕκαστον τῶν τοιούτων ὀνομάτων εἰς ἐπι-  
λογισμὸν ἐρχόμενον ὑπογράφει τὰ οἰκεῖα  
ἔργα. 35.

The duties are also represented in (d.) Book II, 14, 8, where a Roman citizen and his son had listened to a reading of Epictetus' teachings on moral philosophy. After the reading, the man asked how this theoretical moral teaching could have practical application. Epictetus answers that a philosopher should bring his own actions in accord with nature so that nothing happens against his choice. At

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34.) II, 10, 8, Ibid., p. 276, Oldfather's translation: "Upon this character also there is incumbent deference, obedience, kind speech, never to claim as against your brother any of the things that lie outside the realm of your free moral choice, but cheerfully to give them up, so that in things that do lie within the realm of your free moral choice you may have the best of it."

35.) II, 10, 10-12, Ibid., p. 276, Oldfather's translation: "Next if you sit in the town council of some city, remember that you are a councillor; if you are young, remember that you are young; if you are old, that you are an elder; if a father, that you are a father. For each of these designations, when duly considered, always suggest the acts that are appropriate to it."

the same time, the philosopher is to be faithful to the duties of natural and acquired relationships:

καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸ μὲν ἔργον τοῦ φιλοσοφοῦντος τοι-  
οὔτόν τι φανταζόμεθα, ὅτι δεῖ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν  
συναρμόσαι τοῖς γινομένοις, ὥς μήτε τι τῶν γινο-  
μένων ἀκόντων ἡμῶν γίνεσθαι μήτε τῶν μὴ γινομέν-  
ων θελόντων ἡμῶν μὴ γίνεσθαι. ἐξ οὗ περίεστι τοῖς  
συστησαμένοις αὐτὸ ἐν ὁρέξει μὴ ἀποτυγχάνειν, ἐν  
ἐκκλίσει δὲ μὴ περιπίπτειν, ἀλύπως, ἀφόβως, ἀτα-  
ράχως διεξάγειν καθ' αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν κοινωνῶν τη-  
ροῦντα τὰς σχέσεις τὰς τε φυσικὰς καὶ ἐπιθέτους,  
τὸν υἱόν, τὸν πατέρα, τὸν ἀδελφόν, τὸν πολίτην,  
τὸν ἄνδρα, τὴν γυναῖκα, τὸν γείτονα, τὸν σύνοδον,  
τὸν ἄρχοντα, τὸν ἀρχόμενον. 36.

Again, in (e.) Book II, 17, 31, Epictetus uses a list of duties as a summary of what a god-fearing man ought to know, suggesting that the duties are decreed by the gods:

. . . θέλω δ' ὥς εὐσεβὴς καὶ φιλόσοφος  
καὶ ἐπιμελὴς εἰδέναι τί μοι πρὸς θεοῦς ἐστὶ καθήκον,

36.) Oldfather, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 307-9: "So also in our own case, we picture the work of the philosopher to be something like this: He should bring his own will into harmony with what happens, so that neither anything that happens happens against his own will, nor anything that fails to happen fails to happen when we wish it to happen. The result of this for those who have so ordered the work of philosophy is that in desire they are not disappointed, and in aversion they do not fall into what they would avoid; that each person passes his life to himself, free from pain, fear, and perturbation, at the same time maintaining with his associates both the natural and acquired relationships, those namely of son, father, brother, citizen, husband, wife, neighbor, fellow-traveler, ruler and subject.

τί πρὸς γονεῖς, τί πρὸς ἀδελφούς, τί πρὸς  
τὴν πατρίδα, τί πρὸς ξένους.

37.

According to (f.) Book III, 2, 2-4, a man of wisdom will pursue three fields of study. The first concerns never failing "to get what he desires", nor falling into what he avoids. The second consists of his duties, "... that he may act in orderly fashion, upon good reason and not carelessly." The third is proper judgment. It is in the second realm that the familiar duties are reproduced:

δεύτερός ἐστιν ὁ περὶ τὸ καθήκον· οὐ δεῖ  
γάρ με εἶναι ἀπαθῆ ὡς ἀνδριάντα, ἀλλὰ τὰς  
σχέσεις τηροῦντα τὰς φυσικὰς καὶ ἐπιθέτους  
ὡς εὐσεβῆ, ὡς υἱόν, ὡς ἀδελφόν, ὡς πολίτην.

38.

These practical duties are essential to the life of the virtuous man and fundamental to the structure and function of society. In (g.) Book III, 7, 25-28, Epictetus argues that a community of Epicureans can not exist, for they do not hold to the necessary duties men owe to each other. The passage defends Stoicism, which teaches that men should obey their natural and acquired obligations rather than allow selfish desires to govern their actions:

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37.) II, 17, 31-33, Ibid., p. 347, Oldfather's translation: I want also as a god-fearing man, a philosopher and a diligent student, to know what is my duty towards the gods, towards parents, towards brothers, towards my country, towards strangers."

38.) III, 2, 4, Ibid., II, pp. 22f., Oldfather's translation: "The second field of study deals with duty; for I ought not to be unfeeling like a statue, but should maintain my relations, both natural and acquired, as a religious man, as a son, as a brother, a father, a citizen."

οὐκοῦν καὶ καθήκοντα τρισα... τὰ μὲν πρὸς  
τὸ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ποιᾶ εἶναι, τὰ δ'  
αὐτὰ τὰ προηγούμενα. οὕτως καὶ ἀνθρώπου οὐ  
τὴν ὕλην δεῖ τιμᾶν, τὰ σαρκίδια, ἀλλὰ τὰ  
προηγούμενα. τίνα ἐστὶ ταῦτα; πολιτεύεσθαι,  
γαμεῖν, παιδοποιεῖσθαι, θεῶν σέβειν, γονέων  
ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, καθόλου ὀρέγεσθαι, ἐκκλίνειν,  
ὀρμᾶν, ἀφορμᾶν, ὡς ἕκαστον τούτων δεῖ ποιεῖν,  
ὡς πεφύκαμεν. πεφύκαμεν δὲ πῶς; ὡς ἐλεύθεροι,  
ὡς γενναῖοι, ὡς αἰδήμονες.

39.

These various citations from Epictetus indicate that Epictetus taught the popular Stoic "duties" in different arrangements:<sup>40</sup>.

I, 29, 39

- 1.) parents
- 2.) brothers
- 3.) state

II, 10, 10-12

- 1.) parents
- 2.) brothers and kin
- 3.) state

II, 14, 8

- 1.) parents
- 2.) brothers
- 3.) state
- 4.) wife
- 5.) friends
- 6.) fellow traveler

39.) III, 7, 24-27, Ibid., II, pp 56f., Oldfather's translation:  
"Now duties are of three kinds: first those that have to do with mere existence, second, those that have to do with existence of a particular sort, and third, the particular duties themselves. So also in the case of man, it is not his material substance that we should honour, his bits of flesh, but the principal things. What are these? The duties of citizenship, marriage, begetting children, reverence to gods, care of parents, in a word, desire, avoidance, choice, refusal, the proper performance of each one of these acts, and that is this, in accordance with our nature. And what is our nature? To act as free men, as noble, as self-respecting."

40.) Of all the material relevant to this study, these texts from Epictetus are the only ones which are direct discourses of a Stoic teacher in the New Testament period.

II, 17, 31

- 1.) gods
- 2.) parents
- 3.) family
- 4.) state
- 5.) strangers

III, 2, 4

- 1.) gods
- 2.) parents
- 3.) family
- 4.) children
- 5.) state

III, 7, 25-28

- 1.) state
- 2.) spouse
- 3.) children
- 4.) gods
- 5.) parents

From these lists there emerges a scheme of duties which have an order of priority, i.e. those mentioned first in the lists are the most important.<sup>41</sup> The duty to the gods is first in the arrangement wherever this duty is taught. Secondly, the duty towards parents is next in importance. Thirdly, one's duty towards others in the family follows the duty towards parents and may include any number of relationships to brothers, spouse, kinsmen etc. The duty towards the state is the fourth in importance, generally coming after religious and domestic duties.

A comparison of all the Hellenistic texts and those texts within the New Testament period indicates that there were a body of popular Stoic duties which did not exist in any fixed form. The lists of duties vary according to each author, and sometimes within the texts of one author. Thus, there is no set sequence of duties. At best, it may be concluded from the available evidence that the religious duties had precedence over the domestic and civic duties respectively.<sup>42</sup>

Concerning the structure of the duties, the duties are not set out in

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41.) The order in III, 7, 25-28 is a reversal of what usually is the order of duties in Epictetus' writings.

42.) Note that Cicero would argue for the priority of fatherland over parents and other domestic relationships.



commands or orders with imperatives and motives for each class of obligation, i.e. civic duties, domestic duties and religious duties. For the most part there is just a list of people ( and the institution of the state ) to whom one owes his obligations. Should a writer decide to elaborate these duties<sup>43</sup>. he may express them with commands and motives. Therefore, the various representations of the popular Stoic duties suggest that any Stoic or popular tradition was only fixed to a limited extent: a list of people ( and the state ) to whom one owes his obligations.<sup>44</sup>

A comparison of the popular Stoic duties with the New Testament haustafeln tradition reveals that there is little similarity between the form of the popular Stoic duties and the form of the haustafeln tradition. The sequence of the New Testament haustafeln tradition begins with some general instructions and the Christian's obligation to the state, which is followed by domestic obligations. The domestic obligations are listed in a series of reciprocal duties: wives to husbands, husbands to wives; children to parents, fathers to children; slaves to masters, masters to slaves. The haustafeln tradition contains some of the same relationships that are considered within the popular Stoic duties, but does not exactly correspond to the popular Stoic duties. The popular Stoic duties usually begin with a

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43.) For commands, see the citation from Musonius Rufus, supra p. 116. For motives, see the citation from Cicero, supra p. 112.

44.) The Stoic duties may have also contained an obligation to oneself, cf. the citations from Epictetus.

religious obligation, e.g. "honor the gods before parents." There is also the reminder that one must consider himself and all that he owes to himself. The New Testament haustafeln tradition does not include either of these obligations. As in the popular Stoic duties, the haustafeln tradition is mainly composed of domestic obligations which are listed in an order of descending importance. For example, the honor of parents generally comes before the consideration of others in the family, and other friends. This similar sequence in the domestic obligations is the one point of correspondence between the popular Stoic duties and the New Testament haustafeln tradition. In regard to the structure of the duties, the haustafeln tradition is much more developed than the popular Stoic duties. The haustafeln tradition contains at least three formal elements: an address, an imperative and a motive.<sup>45</sup> In contrast, the popular Stoic duties merely list a number of people ( and the state) to whom one owes his obligations. Therefore, the popular Stoic duties are only a prototype of the haustafeln form by virtue of a similar sequence of classifying domestic obligations.<sup>46</sup>

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45.) See the summary of the New Testament haustafeln tradition on page 104.

46.) For later texts which reflect this same scheme of popular Stoic ethics, see Plutarch's (46A.D. -- after 120) de liberis educandis, 10 (cited by Weidinger, op. cit., p. 37); M. Antonius (121 A.D. -- 180) I, 17; V, 31; and Stobaeus' Anthology, the "Hieroclean Fragments" (for references see Weidinger, op. cit., pp. 27ff.) These texts are too late to be considered as evidence for the popular Stoic ethics during the time the New Testament haustafeln tradition was being formed in the early church. The scheme of responsibilities in these texts is similar to the schemes considered in the above texts. Even if they were taken as evidence of the popular Stoic duties which influenced the haustafeln, the evidence they provide for the duties does not alter the conclusions of this chapter.

## B. The Instructions of the Household Codes in the Popular Stoic Ethics.

As mentioned above, there are few occasions where a text of the popular Stoic ethics contains an imperative or specific instruction regarding one's obligation to another or the state. Musonius Rufus tells how one should "honor" parents or "fear" the gods, for example, but there is no evidence that any popular or Stoic tradition contained some instructions for the treatment of parents, country, or other members of the household. Proper consideration of one's station in life, as Epictetus teaches, leads one to the conclusion of how one ought to act with proper regard for parents, the state and other people. In other words, where the list of the people to whom one owes obligations appears without instruction, the proper conduct towards these people is understood.<sup>47</sup>

As defined in the previous chapter, the haustafeln tradition contains two imperatives for subordinates: ὑποτάσσεσθε and ὑπακούετε. The command to be submissive is used in the traditional duties towards the state, husbands and masters.<sup>48</sup> The command for children is for them to obey their parents. The predominant command for subordinates in the haustafeln tradition is expanded by other instructional themes, such as the doing of good as a means of subordination.<sup>49</sup> In general the haustafeln tradition is much more developed at this point than the popular Stoic ethics.

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47.) Cf. supra p. 120, Epictetus II, 10, 7, for the use of ὑπακούειν, which is the same word used in the haustafeln tradition for the obedience of children to parents.

There are several differences between the popular Stoic ethics and the haustafeln tradition's instructions. The popular Stoic ethics do not give specific instructions for behavior towards each class of people. Consequently, the imperatives ὑποτασσόμενοι or ὑπακούετε do not appear in the texts cited above.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, there is a noticeable lack of any haustafeln instructional themes, e.g. the doing of good, in the popular Stoic ethics. The only possible point of similarity between the haustafeln and the popular Stoic duties is that the submission of the haustafeln instructions is implied in the popular Stoic ethics. The popular Stoic ethics usually instruct one to consider his responsibility to civic authorities and parents, which seems to imply a submission. But these instructions in the popular Stoic ethics call for honor rather than submission.

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48.) The instruction is in the form of a participial imperative for at least two duties, the duty of the wife and slave. The possibility of the participial imperative being a Hebraism will be discussed below.

49.) Epictetus, II, 10, 7, mentions the necessity of a child being obedient to parents, supra p. 120. Anton Vögtle, Die Tugend- und Laster-katalogue im Neuen Testament, Münster, Aschendorffschen, 1936, p. 201, notes the inclusion of disobedience in pagan lists of vices (cf. Romans 1:30, II Timothy 3:2), which suggests that there was a pagan concern for parental authority over children. See also Seneca's Letter 47 which exposes the cruel treatment of slaves and teaches that they should be treated fairly. Other parallels such as these could be found in Stoic and other Hellenistic writings. But there is not the development of these instructions by themes contained in the haustafeln tradition. W.C. Van Unnik, "The Teaching of Good Works in I Peter", NTS, I (Nov. 1954), pp. 92ff., argues that the doing of good, as found in I Peter, is a "Greek concept" rather than a "Jewish concept". See below pp. 197ff., where Van Unnik's articles are discussed.

50.) Epictetus II, 10, 7, is the only exception to this statement. Here ὑπακούειν is used as an instruction, but not specifically as an imperative in the infinitive form.



### C. The Motives of the Household Codes in the Popular Stoic Ethics.

In the texts cited as haustafeln precedents the explicit motives are added by the individual authors. Zeno, according to Diogenes Laertius,<sup>51</sup> does not mention motives with the explanation of the Stoic duties, but merely explains what the "appropriate acts" are. Cicero mentions that one's moral obligation to the state and parents comes first, because they have rendered the greatest of service.<sup>52</sup> Children and family come next, because they depend on one's support and protection. Kinsmen follow family, because "for the most part our lot is one". Besides this passage in Cicero there is no other passage of the household duties in Stoic writings which gives specific motives for obligations to each class of people. Without other parallels to Cicero's motives, it can only be concluded that these motives were added by the author himself as an elaboration of the household codes in popular Stoic ethics.

Where there are no explicit motives in the above texts, the motive for keeping the various obligations is typically Stoic: to live in accordance with "reason" or "nature". Zeno began to define this category of ethics as all those acts which are in accordance with reason, or which reason (λόγος) tells us to do.<sup>53</sup> Seneca speaks of

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51.) Book I, 17, supra, pp. 110f.

52.) Supra p. 112.

53.) Supra p. 110.



the duties for particular circumstances as "appropriate" and complementing a view of the sum total of life.<sup>54</sup> But Seneca is not arguing for a philosophical justification for the "appropriate acts". These acts seem to be taken for granted as acts complying with the duties taught by reason. According to Musonius Rufus, the man who attends to the purification of reason and correct reason pays honor to gods, parents, etc.<sup>55</sup> Although reason ( λόγος ) is not mentioned in the passages from Dio Chrysostom's writings,<sup>56</sup> the household duties are in accordance with a good standard of social behavior, what could be taken as reasonable behavior. Epictetus explicitly teaches his pupils to consider first who they are and their station in life, from which they are able to derive what their reasonable behavior shall be.<sup>57</sup> Therefore, the "appropriate acts" as we know them in the household codes of Stoic ethics are prescribed by reason and should be followed because they are prescribed by reason. The aim and object of a Stoic's life is to live in agreement with "reason" or "nature"; these are the acts to which "reason" directs the Stoic. This is the fundamental rationale for the Stoic following the "appropriate acts".

These Stoic motives probably do not represent any motives which

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54.) Supra p. 114.

55.) Supra pp. 115f.

56.) Supra pp. 117f.

57.) Supra pp. 119ff.

accompanied the duties in a popular oral tradition. Throughout this study of Stoic texts it has been difficult to determine what is Stoic material derived from fundamental Stoic philosophy or what is popular ethical material incorporated into Stoic philosophy. Of course, Weidinger's basic thesis is that the household codes were taken from a popular oral tradition and incorporated into the Stoic doctrine of "appropriate acts". This thesis of Weidinger's seems valid, considering the pre-Stoic texts which reflect similar popular ethics. Certainly in regard to the motives of these "appropriate acts", one would expect them to be distinctly Stoic and not representative of a popular oral tradition.<sup>58</sup>

The New Testament haustafeln tradition does not contain the Stoic motives discussed above.<sup>59</sup> The previous chapter defined the motives of the haustafeln tradition as (i.) favorably impressing the Gentiles and (ii.) fearing the Lord who judges all men justly.<sup>60</sup> The motives are not confined to one instruction. The first motive seems to be a general motive for the haustafeln instructions, and the second motive is a motive for both slaves and masters. These two

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58.) E.V. Arnold, Roman Stoicism, Cambridge, University Press, 1911, p. 325, mentions that the duties (officia) in Roman Stoicism comply with "reason", "the common opinion of mankind" and the Stoic "ideal of the wise man"; see Rist, op. cit., for motives in the duties, pp. 113f.

59.) Adolf Bonhöffer, Epiktet und das Neue Testament, Giessen, A. Töpelmann, 1911, p. 330, cites Ephesians 5:29 as a parallel to Epictetus' Dissertation Fragment 23 (θαυμαστή ἡ φύσις καὶ φιλόζωος. τὸ γούνη σῶμα, τὸ πάντων ἀδύνατον καὶ ὑπερῶν, στέργον καὶ θεραπεύον.)  
The closest New Testament word to the Stoic term καθήκον is ἀνῆκεν, which is not an ethical term in Stoicism (Rist, op. cit.,

motives are not found in the texts cited as haustafeln precedents, and are not known as typical motives of Stoic ethical writings.<sup>61.</sup>

#### D. Conclusions

The household codes in popular Stoic ethics are only precedents to the New Testament haustafeln tradition in one specific sense: the sequence of popular Stoic duties is similar to the sequence of the duties in the New Testament haustafeln tradition. The popular Stoic ethics lists a series of domestic obligations in an order of descending importance: parents, children, relations and friends. The New Testament haustafeln tradition includes some of the same duties in a similar order: spouse, parents, children and slaves. It should be noted that the popular household codes instruct a person in a series of obligations, beginning with the most important. On the other hand, the haustafeln tradition instructs each class of people in behavior towards another class of people, e.g. husbands to wives, children to parents, slaves to masters and citizens to authorities. Despite this fundamental difference, the haustafeln tradition seems to

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pp. 13, 97ff. discusses the use of καθήκον as a term denoting actions without any moral quality apart from the motives behind them. Schnackenberg, op. cit., pp. 304f., states that Paul is not using ἀνήκον with Stoic meaning even if it is borrowed from Stoicism. Ἀνήκον is not listed in I. von Arnim, Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta, Stuttgart, Teubner, 1964, IV vol., and cannot be suspected to be an important ethical term for the Stoics as καθήκον.

60. Supra p. 104.

61.) I have come to this conclusion after searching for haustafeln vocabulary in I. von Arnim, Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta, I-IV, op.cit.,

have listed the most important relationships first. There are other points of difference between the sequence of duties in the popular Stoic ethics and the New Testament haustafeln tradition. The popular Stoic ethics mention a wider range of obligations and do not include the reciprocal duties within the household. The structures of the haustafeln duties themselves are much more developed (with the formal elements of an address, an imperative and a motive) than the popular Stoic ethical lists of people to whom one owes his obligations. There are no imperatives and motives in the popular Stoic ethics which may have been borrowed by the New Testament haustafeln tradition.

Considering these conclusions, Weidinger's thesis must be viewed cautiously. It cannot be denied that there are Stoic precedents to the New Testament haustafeln tradition. However, the similarity between the Stoic texts and the haustafeln tradition is limited to a likeness in the sequence of domestic duties. It would seem that there is much more Christian originality and reworking of Jewish material in the haustafeln tradition than scholars have been willing to admit.<sup>62</sup> The early Christian church probably drew upon the codes of popular household ethics as a conventional classification of ethics, under which the Christians classified some Jewish and Christian instructions. But the actual instructions and motives of the

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62.) Supra Chapter I: "Haustafeln Studies in the Twentieth Century". As mentioned above, Weidinger's thesis has been generally accepted as the prevailing theory for haustafeln origins. For a summary of current views see: O.J.F. Seitz, "Lists", The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, ed. G.A. Buttrick, New York and Nashville, Abingdon, 1962, vol. III, pp. 137-9.

haustafeln tradition cannot be claimed as Stoic, with slight Christian modification. The haustafeln tradition is only modeled after popular Stoic ethics in that they repeat a similar scheme of classifying household ethics. Aside from this formal similarity the haustafeln generally reflect the same respect for the conventional order of social relationships which is found in the popular Stoic ethics.



## IV. THE BACKGROUND OF HELLENISTIC JUDAISM

Before investigating the background of Palestinian Judaism, it is necessary to evaluate the evidence for the background of Hellenistic Judaism. Scholars<sup>1</sup> have cited evidence for background to the haustafeln tradition in Hellenistic Jewish texts which contain household codes similar to those studied in Stoic writings. This chapter attempts to determine how closely these Hellenistic Jewish texts (and other relevant texts of Hellenistic Judaism) resemble the form, instructions and motives of the New Testament haustafeln tradition.

Karl Weidinger argues that the popular Stoic ethics were incorporated into Jewish teachings which the Christians came to know in the synagogues of the Diaspora<sup>2</sup> and to fashion into a teaching tradition of their own. Weidinger suggests that this is at least one way in which the popular Stoic ethics came to be shaped into the New Testament haustafeln.<sup>3</sup> Thus, according to Weidinger, Hellenistic

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1.) Weidinger, op. cit., pp. 23-27; Martin Dibelius, An die Kolosser, Epheser; an Philemon, Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1927, p. 37. Weidinger and Dibelius were the first scholars to set forth evidence for the popular Stoic ethics in Hellenistic Jewish texts. D. Alfred Seeberg, Die beiden Wege und das Aposteldekret, Leipzig, A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (Georg Böhme), 1906, pp. 24ff., discusses some Christian teachings which came from Hellenistic Judaism and cites similarities between Pseudo-Phocylides and some haustafeln passages of the New Testament (p.31): I Peter 2:11-4:9; Colossians 3:5-4:1 and Ephesians 4:25-6:9. Seeberg does not give a detailed account of the similarities.

2.) Presumably, the Christians would have been familiar with the popular Stoic ethics in an oral tradition before their conversion to Christianity or exposure to synagogue teachings.

3.) It is also possible that the pagan codes influenced the hausta-

Judaism prepared the way for Christianity by providing the Septuagint and pioneering missionary methods among the heathen.<sup>4</sup> In order to gain respect among the heathen, Hellenistic Judaism assimilated the popular Stoic duties into its ethical teachings.<sup>5</sup> These duties of Stoicism were modified by Hellenistic Judaism, taught to proselytes and transmitted by an oral tradition in the synagogue. Occasionally, the duties may have been written down, but teaching the laws by oral tradition was the familiar Jewish practice of the day.<sup>6</sup> Some passages of the inter-testamental literature contain oral ethical formulae which found literary expression.<sup>7</sup> The popular Stoic duties were an oral tradition in the Jewish synagogue which were also recorded by a few Jewish authors. As Christianity followed Hellenistic Judaism into the Greek world outside of Palestine, it took the Old Testament and the words of Jesus for moral instruction. It also drew upon the popular Stoic duties which were heard in the synagogues of the Diaspora and known throughout Greek society.<sup>8</sup> If this much of Weidinger's thesis be correct, Hel-

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fel'n tradition directly; see Weidinger, op. cit., p. 50.

4.) Weidinger, op. cit., pp. 12f.

5.) Ibid., p. 13.

6.) Ibid., p. 16. Also see Martin Dibelius, Der Brief Jakobus, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964, p. 18.

7.) Weidinger, op. cit., pp. 16-18.

8.) Ibid., p. 18. According to Weidinger, it is insignificant whether Christianity borrowed the household ethics from Jewish or pagan sources (p.50): "Ob das Christentum seine 'Haustafeln' dem Judentum oder dem Heidentum unmittelbar verdankt, ist nicht auszumachen."

lenistic Judaism transmitted the popular Stoic ethics from a popular oral code to the New Testament writers and the haustafeln tradition. If the New Testament haustafeln tradition was modeled after the codes as they existed in the texts of Hellenistic Judaism, these texts would likely bear a closer resemblance to the haustafeln tradition than the popular Stoic duties in Stoic texts. This is one of the points which need to be considered in an evaluation of the evidence.

The major portion of evidence for the popular Stoic codes in Hellenistic Judaism is in the writings of Pseudo-Phocylides, Philo and Josephus.<sup>9</sup> This chapter studies the form, instructions and motives in the household codes used by these three writers. Other texts from Hellenistic Jewish writers will be studied in relation to instructional and motivation themes.

#### A. The Form of the Household Codes in Hellenistic Judaism.

(i.) Both the date and authorship of a poem written under the assumed name of Phocylides have been subject to much debate. The difficulty with the dating of the poem is that it does not contain any reference to historical events or people and that it is mainly

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9.) These are the three authors cited by Weidinger, op. cit., pp. 23-27, and Martin Dibelius, Kolosser, (1927), p. 37. Dibelius (Jakobus, pp. 17f.) adds the name of Pseudo-Menander, but does not give a specific reference in the poem of "Menander the Wise". This poem under the assumed name of Menander will be considered below, p. 154. E.G. Selwyn, op. cit., p. 421, notes that there are social codes in Tobit 4 and 12 and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, but

composed of ethical instructions which could be placed in a number of epochs. The date of the poem has been placed as early as 170 B.C.<sup>10</sup> and as late as the first century A.D.<sup>11</sup>. It has also been debated whether the poem has been written by a Jew or Christian. Jacob Bernays (1856)<sup>12</sup> has argued that the author was Jewish, which has come to be the common Jewish opinion. Adolf Harnack believed that the author was Christian because the poem contains the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead.<sup>13</sup> However, it has generally been accepted by both Jewish and Christian scholars that the author was Jewish and that the ethical teachings of the poem were taken from the Pentateuch and passages in the Book of Sirach rather than the teachings of Christ or other Christian doctrines.<sup>14</sup> For the purposes of this study it is reasonable to assume that the poem was written by a Jew in the Hellenistic period before the writings of the New Testament.<sup>15</sup>

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only cites the text of Pseudo-Phocylides (note 2) as resembling the haustafeln.

10.) The Encyclopaedia Britannica, XXI, 13th edition, London, The Encyclopaedia Britannica Co., 1926, p. 449.

11.) Emil Schürer, A History of the Jewish People, 2nd Division, Vol. III, translated by Sophia Taylor and Rev. Peter Christie, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1886, pp. 313ff., 316.

12.) See S. Kraus, "Phocylides", The Jewish Encyclopaedia, X, Isidore Singer, editor, London, Funk and Wagnalls, MDCCCXCV, p. 255, for an account of Jacob Bernays' work. Also see G. Klein, Der älteste christliche Katechismus und die jüdische Propaganda-Literatur, Berlin, Druck und Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1909, pp. 144f., where Klein rejects Bernays' view that the poem was not used for catechetical instruction. Klein argues that the poem leaves out certain offensive laws and includes the Noachian laws in order that the poem may be used for missionary purposes.

13.) Schürer, op. cit., p. 313.



It is possible that the popular Stoic ethics influenced the arrangement of the ethical instructions in the poem. The beginning of the poem mentions the worship of God and the love of parents, which resembles the order of obligations in the popular stoic ethics:<sup>16.</sup>

Πρῶτα θεὸν τίμα, μετέπειτα δὲ σέτο γονῆας.<sup>17.</sup>

It is not at all certain that the poem is reflecting a Stoic or Hellenistic ethic. It may be following the decalogue or even some Rabbinical literature.<sup>18.</sup> There are other instructions for the parent-child and husband-wife relationships throughout the poem (ll. 8, 47, 175-194). However, between lines 195 and 227<sup>19.</sup> a series of domestic relationships are treated: husbands to wives (ll. 195-197), parents to children (ll. 207-209) and masters to slaves (ll. 223-227):

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14.) Ibid., p. 316. See also Kenneth E. Kirk, The Vision of God, London, Longmans, Green, 1931, p. 122. Peter Dalbert, Die Theologie der Hellenistisch-Jüdischen Missionsliteratur unter Ausschluss von Philo und Josephus, Hamburg, Herbert Reich, 1954, pp. 9ff. gives a presentation of the views on authorship and date, and notes the poem's affinities with Leviticus: ll. 177ff.=Lev. 18:8ff.; ll. 188=Lev. 18:23; ll. 190f.=Lev. 18:22. Outside of these parallels Dalbert does not see anything specifically Jewish in the poem. See Wilhelm Bousset, Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter, Berlin, Reuther and Reichard, 1903, pp. 29f., for the opinion that the poem is a combination of both Hellenistic and Old Testament wisdom.

15.) Weidinger, op. cit., pp. 23f., takes this position.

16.) There are exceptions where the fatherland is followed by parents in the obligations of the popular Stoic ethics.

17.) The text is taken from T. Bergk, Poetae Lyrici Graeci, Pars II, Lipzig, Teubner, MCMXV, p. 82, (line 8), "First of all honor God, and afterwards your parents."

18.) Weidinger does not cite this particular passage. For parallels to the Derek Erez literature, see Klein, op. cit., pp. 150-153.



στέργε τεὴν ἄλοχον· τί γὰρ ἡδύτερον καὶ ἄρειον,  
 ἢ ὅταν ἀνδρὶ γυνὴ φρονέῃ φίλα γήραος ἄχρις,  
 καὶ πόσις ἢ ἀλόχῳ, μηδ' ἐμπέσῃ ἀνδιχα νεῖκος;

...

Παισὶν μὴ χαλέπαινε τεοῖς, ἀλλ' ἥπιος εἷης.  
 ἣν δέ τι παῖς ἀλίτῃσιν, κολουέτω υἷέα μήτηρ,  
 ἢ καὶ πρεσβύτατοι γενεῆς, ἢ δημογέροντες.

...

Γαστρὸς ὀφειλόμενον δασμὸν παρέχειν θεράπουσιν.

δοῦλῳ τακτὰ νέμοις, ἵνα τοι καταθύμιος εἷη.

στίγματα μὴ γράφῃς, ἐπονιδίζων θεράποντα.

δοῦλον μὴ βλάβῃς τι, κακηγορέων παρ' ἄνακτι.

λάμβανε καὶ βουλὴν παρά γ' οἰκέτου εὖ φρονέοντος.

20.

The arrangement of the household duties in this poem may have been influenced by the popular Stoic ethics as they were known in an oral

19.) Bergk's numbering is followed in this discussion.

20.) The text is taken from Bergk, op. cit., pp. 106, 107, 108f. The following is the writer's translation:

"Love your spouse; for what is more pleasant and more excellent,

Than when a wife is kindly-minded towards a husband until old age,

And a husband kindly-minded towards a wife, and strife does not separate them?

...

Do not be angry with your children, but may you be gentle.

And if a child offends you in anything, a mother should correct a son,

Or elders of a family, or of the people (should correct him.)

...

Provide to the servants their own apportionment of food.

tradition. Behavior towards these various classes of people may have been adapted to poetical form and used as a catechism for proselytes.<sup>21</sup> The subject matter of household duties certainly resembles the concerns of the popular Stoic duties, but there are some differences in the form. Of course, the poetical form is the obvious difference. There is also a lack of any civic responsibilities in the poem's admonitions. Furthermore, the poem addresses its instructions to particular classes of people, not by a nominative of address, but by implication<sup>22</sup>. and considers both sides of the relationship of marriage. If this text reflects the popular Stoic duties, the household duties in the poem are moving away from the form of duties in the Stoic writings and towards the form of the duties in the haustafeln tradition.<sup>23</sup>

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May you distribute to a servant his appointed amount (money),  
in order that he may be well-disposed to you.

You should not inscribe a brand (on a slave), shaming a  
devoted servant.\*

You should not harm a servant anything, by denouncing him  
before his master.

Even take advice from a prudent household servant."

\*This instruction may mean that a master should not brand a slave because the slave may have an opportunity to buy himself out of slavery. If the slave should become a free man, he would not have the lasting mark of slavery on his body. Roland de Vaux, Ancient Israel, Its Life and Institutions, trans. John McHugh, London, Darton, Longman and Todd, 1968, p. 84, mentions that slaves were sometimes marked in order to discourage them from running away, "but the practice is not clearly attested in the Old Testament."

21.) Klein, op. cit., pp. 143ff.

22.) For example, the instructions concerning the treatment of a slave are intended for masters. The instructions for the marriage relationship are directed towards the wife, first of all, and the husband. This order of duties approximates the reciprocal relationships that are mentioned in the haustafeln tradition.

23.) Differing from the Stoic texts, the poem contains specific instructions in the form of each duty.

(ii.) Weidinger, Dibelius and Selwyn also refer to haustafeln precedents in the works of Philo (c. 20 B.C. -- after 40 A.D.).<sup>24</sup> Philo's most detailed presentation of religious, civic and domestic duties occurs in the treatise de Posteritate Caini,<sup>25</sup> which is primarily an allegorical commentary on the Book of Genesis. The commentary contains a passage on the sin of Onan (Genesis 38:9), who did not provide children for his brother's wife and displeased the Lord. Philo interprets this act of Onan's as a selfish consideration and a violation of family responsibility:<sup>26</sup>

οὐκοῦν, εἴποιμ' ἂν αὐτῷ, εἰ τὸ ἴδιον πορίζεις  
 λυσιτελές, πάνθ' ὅσα ἄριστα καταλύσεις, ἔαν μηδὲν  
 ἐξ αὐτῶν ὠφελῇθῃς, τιμὰς γονέων, ἐπιμέλειαν  
 γυναικός, παίδων ἀγωγὰς, χρήσεις ἀμέμπτους οἰ-  
 κετῶν, ἐπιτροπὴν οἰκίας, πόλεως προστασίαν,  
 βεβαίωσιν νόμων, φυλακὴν ἔθων, τὴν πρὸς πρεσ-  
 βυτέρους αἰδῶ, τὴν πρὸς τετελευτηκότητα εὐ-  
 φημίαν, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας κοινωνίαν, τὴν  
 πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις εὐσέβειαν;

27.

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24.) Weidinger, op. cit., pp. 25ff.; Dibelius, Kolosser, p. 37; Selwyn, op. cit., p. 422.

25.) de Posteritate Caini, 181. The text is in Colson & G.H. Whitaker, editors and Translators, Philo, II, London, Heinemann & Co., MCMXXIX, pp. 434-36.

26.) The same lesson is repeated in Quod Deus Immutabilis Sit, IV, 17 and 19. See Colson, op. cit., pp. 18f., where the code appears.

If this is another text representing the popular Stoic duties, Philo is rearranging the duties and augmenting them with Jewish instructions. Consequently, Philo provides a scheme of twelve obligations which follow the order: (1.) honor of parents, τιμὰς γονέων , (2.) loving care of wife, ἐπιμέλειαν γυναικός , (3.) raising children, παίδων ἀγωγὰς , (4.) happy relations with servants, χρήσεις ἀμέμπτους οἰκετῶν , (5.) management of the household, ἐπιτροπὴν οἰκίας . (6.) civic leadership, πόλεως προστασίαν , (7.) maintaining the laws, βεβαίωσιν νόμων, (8.) guardianship of the customs, φυλακὴν ἑθῶν , (9.) reverence towards elders, τὴν πρὸς πρεσβυτέρους αἰδῶ , (10.) respect for the memory of the departed, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας εὐφημίαν , (11.) fellowship with the living, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας κοινωνίαν and (12.) piety in words and actions towards the deity, τὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις εὐσέβειαν . Philo mentions the civic obligations after the domestic obligations and adds the worship of God. Jewish monotheism would not be consistent with the Stoic duty "fear of the gods", but would require "piety in words and actions towards the deity". This religious obligation is placed at the end of the list as the all-inclusive duty, implying that all other duties are followed if one

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27.) Colson, op. cit., II, pp. 434f. Colson's translation: "I should therefore address him thus: 'will you not' -- so I would say to him -- 'by providing only your individual profit, be doing away with all the best things in the world, unless you are to get some advantage from them, honour paid to parents, loving care of a wife, bringing up children, happy and blameless relations with domestic servants, management of a house, leadership in a city, maintaining the laws, guardianship of usages, reverence towards elders, respect for the memory of the departed, fellowship with the living, piety in words and actions towards the deity?'"

is pious before God.

The importance of the household duties in Philo's philosophy may be seen in his view of the relationship of natural law to revealed Mosaic Law. Philo believed that the Mosaic Law was a "law in accordance with nature".<sup>28</sup> H.A. Wolfson writes:

[Philo] ...tries to show how that Law is what philosophers would describe as being in accordance with nature. God, argues Philo, is the founder both of the laws of nature and the laws revealed through Moses and, since both these systems of law emanate from the same divine source, they are in harmony with each other, and consequently life in accordance with nature, which is recommended by philosophers, and life in accordance with Law, which is enjoined by Scripture, mean one and the same thing.

29.

The household codes are regarded by the Stoics as laws in accordance with the nature of things, as mentioned in the previous chapter.

Philo therefore points out how these household codes correspond to the Mosaic Laws, which are considered by him to be superior to all other natural laws. The first law of the Jews is to reverence God, a command which implies the keeping of other natural obligations, argues Philo:

... ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῷ μὴ σέβειν θεὸν ἔπεται  
τὸ μῆτε γονεῖς μῆτε πατρίδα μῆτ' εὐεργέτας  
τιμᾶν, ὁ δὲ δὴ πρὸς τῷ μὴ σέβειν καὶ

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28.) H.A. Wolfson, Philo, Cambridge (U.S.A.), Harvard University Press, 1948, p. 180.

29.) Ibid., p. 192.



κακηγορεῖν τολμῶν τίνα μοχθηρίας ὑπερ-  
βολὴν ἀπολέλοιπε; 30.

The reverence of God is the highest virtue that a man can obtain.

Philo's comment on Noah's righteousness emphasizes this point:

τὸ θεῷ εὐαρεστῆσαι· ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ καὶ  
τελεώτατον ἦν καὶ ὅρος τῆς ἄκρας εὐδαι-  
μονίας, ἐφ' ἅπασιν εἴρηται·

31.

Philo also regards anyone who keeps his natural obligations to be well-pleasing before other men and God:

τιμῶν γὰρ γονεῖς ἢ πένητας ἐλεῶν ἢ φίλους  
εὐεργετῶν ἢ πατρίδος ὑπερασπίζων ἢ τῶν κοι-  
νῶν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους δικαίων ἐπιμελού-  
μενος εὐαρεστήσεις μὲν πάντως τοῖς χρωμένοις,

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30.) De Vita Mosis, II, 198. The text and translation are from Colson, op. cit., pp. 546f.: "Refusal to reverence God implies refusal to honour parents and country and benefactors. And, if so, what depths of depravity remains for him to reach who besides refusing reverence dares also to revile Him?" This passage refers to the seriousness of cursing God, which was done by a man fond of Egyptian atheism. This is a polemic against such atheism, which, Philo argues, implies an irreverence to all the natural obligations of life.

31.) Quod Deus Immutabilis Sit, XXIV, 118. The text and translation are from Colson, op. cit., pp. 68f.: "... that he was well-pleasing to God. And this last as being the consummation of these virtues, and the definition of supreme happiness, is put at the end of them all."

32.) De Mutatione Nominum, 40. The text and translation are from Colson, op. cit., V, pp. 162f.: "For if you honour parents or show mercy to the poor or do kindness to your friends or defend your country or observe with care your duties to all men in general, you will surely be well-pleasing to all you have to do, but also well-pleasing before God. For He with an eye that never sleeps beholds all things, and what is good he summons to Himself and approves with special favor."

θεοῦ δ' ἐνώπιον εὐαρεστήσεις· ἀκοιμήτῳ γὰρ

ὀφθαλμῷ βλέπει πάντα καὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα χάριτι

ἐξαιρέτῳ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καλεῖ καὶ ἀποδέχεται.

32.

Therefore the first Mosaic Law, which commands men to reverence God, is chief among all laws and implies that one is to keep the natural laws regarding social relationships. Philo also suggests that the fifth commandment of the Mosaic Decalogue corresponds with the several social obligations known in Hellenistic society:

τὸ δὲ πέμπτον, τὸ περὶ γονέων τιμῆς, πολλοὺς

καὶ ἀναγκαίους νόμους ὑπαινίπεται, τοὺς ἐπὶ

πρεσβύταις καὶ νέοις ἀναγραφέντας, τοὺς ἐπ'

ἄρχουσι καὶ ὑπηκόοις, τοὺς ἐπ' εὐεργέταις καὶ

εὖ πεπονθόσι, τοὺς ἐπὶ δούλοις καὶ δεσπόταις.

γονεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ κρείττονι τῶν εἰρημένων

εἰσι τάξει, ἐν ᾗ πρεσβύτεροι, ἡγεμόνες, εὐεργέ-

ται, δεσπότες, παῖδες δὲ ἐν τῇ καταδεεστέρῃ,

ἐν ᾗ νεώτεροι, ὑπήκοοι, εὖ πεπονθότες, δοῦλοι.

32a.

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32a.) De Decalogo, 165-7; cf. Weidinger, op. cit., p. 25. For text and translation see Colson, op. cit., VII, pp 88f.: "In the fifth commandment on honouring parents we have a suggestion of many necessary laws drawn up to deal with relations of old to young, rulers to subjects, benefactors to benefited, slaves to masters. For parents belong to the superior class of the above mentioned pairs, that which comprises the seniors, rulers, benefactors and masters, while children occupy the lower position with juniors, subjects, receivers of benefits and slaves."

The following conclusions may be drawn from the above citations.

(i.) Philo was familiar with the household ethics which Stoicism regarded as laws in accordance with nature. It may be assumed that he knew them as popular Hellenistic ethics as well as household codes within the writings of Stoicism. (ii.) In Philo's view of the relationship of natural law to revealed law, the household codes are considered one aspect of natural law which corresponds to the revealed law of Moses, which is superior to natural law. (a.) The first commandment of the Mosaic Law implies that one should keep his natural obligations. (b.) The fifth commandment of the Decalogue corresponds to several laws "drawn up" for the relationship of superiors to subordinates. (iii.) Judging from the citation of de Decalogo, 165-167, it is possible that the form of the household codes known to Philo contained particular ethics for classes of people in relationship to other classes of people. This form is not present in the Stoic texts but only in the New Testament haustafeln texts. In fact, this text from Philo is the only evidence we have of such a form existing outside the New Testament haustafeln. (iv.) Philo speaks of the household codes as a body of "laws" in Hellenistic culture rather than as a tradition of teaching in Hellenistic Judaism. Therefore, it cannot be argued that the household codes in the writings of Philo are in any way reflecting a teaching tradition in Hellenistic Judaism. This is further evidence against any theory that Hellenistic Judaism incorporated the household codes into a teaching tradition and transmitted them to the early Christian church.

(iii.) Weidinger and Dibelius also cite the works of Josephus, the Jewish historian and general (c. 37/8 A.D. -- after 100), who attempted to dispel some misconceptions of the Jews which were held by the Gentiles.<sup>32</sup> Against Apion<sup>33</sup> was written as a defense of the Jewish people against the attacks of their enemies, among whom was Apion, the chief literary opponent of the Jews.<sup>34</sup> Josephus justifies the customs of the Jews against the false accusations of Apion. The two books of Against Apion appeared at the beginning of the second century A.D. and contained a defense against all sorts of Egyptian and Greek attacks on Jewish morality and customs. At times Josephus takes an aggressive stand against Gentile morality, comparing it to the Mosaic laws.

In a passage of this polemical work, the Jewish laws are defended in the following order: the honor of God, marriage laws, raising children, honor towards parents, respect for elders, confidence in friends and consideration of strangers:

Τίνες οὖν εἰσιν αἱ προρρήσεις καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις;

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32.) Weidinger, op. cit., pp. 26f.; Dibelius, Kolosser, pp. 37f.

33.) For comments on the title see H. St. John Thackeray, Josephus, I, London, Wm. Heinemann and Co., 1926, p. xvi.

34.) F.J. Foakes Jackson, Josephus and the Jews, London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930, pp. 26ff. Apion was an Alexandrian Greek and professor who had flourished under Tiberius, known as the toiler. He had a prejudice against the Jews and was one of the Alexandrian delegates to Caligula who opposed the Jewish protest against placing the Emperor's statue in the temple. R.J.H. Shutt, Studies in Josephus, London, SPCK, 1961, pp. 47ff., discusses the nature of the opposition to Judaism as illustrated in the Against Apion.

ἀπλαῖ τε καὶ γνώριμοι. πρώτη δ' ἡγεῖται ἡ  
περὶ θεοῦ λέγουσα ὅτι θεὸς ἔχει τὰ σύμπαντα... 35.

Τίνες δ' οἱ περὶ γάμων νόμοι; 36.

Οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν παίδων γενέσεσιν  
ἐπέτρεφεν εὐωχίας συντελεῖν καὶ προφάσεις  
ποιεῖσθαι μέθης, ἀλλὰ σώφρονα τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθύς  
τῆς τροφῆς ἔταξε. 37.

Γονέων τιμὴν μετὰ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν δευτέραν ἔταξε  
καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἀμειβόμενον τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν χάριτας ἀλλ'  
εἰς ὅτιοῦν ἐλλείποντα λευσθησόμενον παραδίδωσι. 38.

καὶ παντὸς τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τιμὴν ἔχειν τοὺς  
νέους φησὶν, ἐπεὶ πρεσβύτατον ὁ θεός. 39.

κρύπτειν οὐδὲν ἔῃ πρὸς φίλους· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι  
φιλίαν τὴν μὴ πάντα πιστεύουσιν. 40.

35.) Against Apion, II, 190. This is cited by Weidinger, op. cit., p. 26. Text and translation by Thackeray, op. cit., I, pp. 386f.; "What, then are the precepts and prohibitions of our Law? They are simple and familiar. At their head stands one of which God is the theme..."

36.) Against Apion, II, 199. This is quoted by Weidinger, op. cit., p. 27. Text and translation from Thackeray, op. cit., pp. 372f.; "What are our marriage laws?"

37.) Against Apion, II, 204. This is quoted by Weidinger, op. cit., p. 27. Text and translation from Thackeray, op. cit., pp. 374f.; "Again the law does not allow the birth of our children to be made occasions for festivity and an excuse for drinking to excess. It enjoins sobriety in their up-bringing from the very first."



... πῶς δὲ καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄλλοφύλους ἐπι-  
 εικειίας ἐφρόντισεν ὁ νομοθέτης, ἄξιον  
 ἰδεῖν.

41.

This defense of Jewish law follows a sequence of topics (God, marriage, children, parents, respect for elders, friends and strangers) which resembles the sequence of duties in the popular household codes. It is probable that Josephus chose to defend the Jewish laws in a sequence familiar to the gentile population. But these texts do not provide evidence for the existence of a didactic tradition in Hellenistic Judaism which followed the same sequence. Josephus is probably using a framework for interpreting the Jewish law which comes from outside of Hellenistic Judaism. This sequence differs from the New Testament haustafeln tradition: there are no general instructions, civic instructions and reciprocal duties.

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38.) Against Apion, II, 206. This is quoted by Weidinger, op. cit., p. 27. Text and translation by Thackeray, op. cit., pp. 376f.; "Honour to parents the law ranks second only to honour to God and if a son does not respond to the benefits received from them -- for the slightest failure in his duty towards them -- it hands him over to be stoned."

39.) Against Apion, II, 206. This is quoted by Weidinger, op. cit., p. 27. Text and translation by Thackeray, op. cit., pp. 376f.; "It requires respect to be paid by the young to all their elders, because God is the ancient of all."

40.) Against Apion, II, 207. This is quoted by Weidinger, op. cit., p. 27. Text and translation by Thackeray, op. cit., pp. 377f.; "It allows us to conceal nothing from friends, for there is no friendship without absolute confidence."

41.) Against Apion, II, 209. This is quoted by Weidinger, op. cit., p. 27. Text and translation by Thackeray, op. cit., pp. 376f.; "The consideration given by our legislator to the equitable treatment of aliens also merits attention."

The above citations from Pseudo-Phocylides, Philo and Josephus do not lead one to the conclusion that a form of household duties (as in the popular Stoic ethics) circulated as a didactic tradition in Hellenistic Judaism. (i.) Of the writings cited above by the three authors, the poem attributed to Pseudo-Phocylides is the only direct evidence of the scheme of popular Stoic duties used as a teaching in Hellenistic Judaism.<sup>42</sup> The sequence of the domestic duties in the poem approximates the sequence of domestic duties in the popular Stoic ethics,<sup>43</sup> and the structure of the duties is similar to the structure of duties in the New Testament haustafeln tradition.<sup>44</sup> (ii.) The texts from Philo refer to these popular Stoic duties, but not as a didactic tradition within the teachings of Hellenistic Judaism.<sup>45</sup> The cited texts demonstrate Philo's attempt to fuse Jewish and Greek ethics. It is generally understood that Philo departed from the main line of Jewish thought by his adoption of Greek ethics and creation of a religious philosophy. Philo's

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42.) This statement is only true if the poem is taken to be a body of instructions used for catechetical instructions in Hellenistic Judaism. This was the view of Jacob Bernays' work; cf. supra p.139, note 12.

43.) The domestic duties are listed in an order of descending importance: husband and wife, children and parents, and slaves and masters.

44.) The duties are addressed to certain classes of people, e.g. husbands and masters, which is different from the Stoic texts and similar to the New Testament haustafeln texts.

45.) Philo uses the household duties for apologetic purposes, showing how the Greek ethics correspond to Jewish law.

ethics derived ethical instructions from general philosophical principles.<sup>46</sup> His virtues and vices are Jewish, but they are arranged along Greek lines.<sup>47</sup> The motives that inspire the virtues and the means by which they are acquired are not Jewish.<sup>48</sup> Jewish ethics are preceptive morals which are derived from revelation, rather than philosophical reasoning. They were revealed by God in order that men may do God's will, rather than follow the dictates of moral reasoning. The majority of Jewry was not interested in the problems of fusing Greek moral philosophy with Jewish thought, the task Philo tried to accomplish.<sup>49</sup> In the texts cited above<sup>50</sup> he uses the popular Stoic duties as ethics representing Greek popular ethics rather than the precepts of the Jewish religion. Therefore, the appearance of the popular Stoic duties in Philo's writings indicates Philo's affinity for Stoic ethics, but not Judaism's adoption of Stoic ethics for didactic traditions. (iii.) The texts from the writings of Josephus indicate that he was familiar with the popular Stoic ethics and that he used these ethics in a systematic defense

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46.) R.T. Herford, The Talmud and Apocrypha, London, The Sonino Press, 1933, p. 307.

47.) Ibid., p. 314.

48.) De Decalogo, 165-7; G.F. Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era, II, Cambridge (U.S.A.), Harvard University Press, 1946, p. 81; O.S. Rankin, Israel's Wisdom Literature, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1964, p. 103.

49.) James Parkes, The Foundations of Judaism and Christianity, London, Vallentine, Mitchell, 1960, p. 117.

50.) Supra pp. 143ff.

of Jewish law. It must be remembered that these texts are taken from one of Josephus' apologetic works, where he is explaining the Jewish laws in terms of the popular Stoic ethics, a scheme of ethics which would be familiar and simple for his gentile readers. He is not producing evidence for a popular Stoic ethic as a didactic tradition within Hellenistic Judaism. Therefore, only the text from Pseudo-Phocylides<sup>51</sup> provides evidence that the popular Stoic ethics were integrated into a didactic practice in Hellenistic Judaism.<sup>52</sup>

These texts from Philo and Josephus do provide some insight into popular Stoic duties which were familiar to Hellenistic Judaism. There is one point worth noting that was not evident from the Stoic texts in the previous chapter. The Stoic representations of the popular ethics usually listed the people to whom one owes his obligations. On the other hand the texts from Hellenistic Judaism sometimes speak of duties for particular classes of people<sup>53</sup>. It has

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51.) It must be remembered that the date, authorship and purpose of the poem (its use for catechetical instruction or propaganda purposes) are still problems for scholars. For more recent discussions see: B. S. Easton, "Pseudo-Phocylides", Anglican Theological Review, XIV (19-32), pp. 222-228; Alfons Kurfess, "Das Mahngedicht des sogenannten Phokylides im zweiten Buch der Oracula Sibyllina," ZNTW, XXXVIII, (19-39), pp. 171-181; Ralph Marcus, "The Hellenistic Jewish Literature", The Jews, II, edited by Louis Finkelstein, London, Peter Owen, 1961, pp. 1094f. Kurfess (p. 171) believes the poem to be Stoic because a Jew could not have written lines 70-75 (Diel's numbering). ) Marcus (p. 1094) believes the author to be Jewish. Easton (p. 222) states that we cannot tell if a Jew or Gentile wrote the poem.

52.) Martin Dibelius, Jakobus, p. 18, believes that the poem of Pseudo-Menander is another example, like Pseudo-Phocylides, of a Jewish poem with the popular Stoic ethics. At least he mentions it as a possibility. He does not give any references in the poem. See Marcus, op. cit., p. 1095, for a recent discussion of the poem. Wilhelm



been noted that this structure is closer to the duties in the New Testament haustafeln tradition than the duties in the popular Stoic ethics as presented in the Stoic writings. This similarity to the New Testament haustafeln tradition is probably coincidental, because this is the only text outside the New Testament that follows this form.

#### B. The Instructions of the Household Codes in Hellenistic Judaism.

This section considers the instructions of the household codes from the texts cited in the previous section. It has been concluded in the previous section that not all of the citations are evidence for a teaching tradition of popular household ethics within Hellenistic Judaism. Still, there are scholars who would assert that these

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Frankenberg, "Die Schrift des Menander (Land anecd. syr. I, S. 64ff.), ein Produkt der jüdischen Spruchweisheit", Zeitschrift für die alt-testamentliche Wissenschaft, XV, (1895), pp. 226ff., argues that the Poem has Jewish origins, pointing to the various parallels between the poem and passages from Proverbs and Ben Sira. Land's text has not been available to me for this study. The poem is suspected to have originally been written in Greek (Marcus, op. cit., p. 1095), but I know of no available Greek translation. I would suspend any judgment on the influence of popular Stoic ethics on the poem until particular references are given by Dibelius (or others) and a Syriac or Greek text are available. For further on the poem see: Kraus, "Menander", The Jewish Encyclopedia, edited by Isidore Singer, vol. VIII, London, Funk and Wagnalls, MDCCCCV, pp. 473f.; and D. Emil Schürer, Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi, 4th ed., vol. III, Leipzig, J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1909, pp. 476ff.

53.) This has been noted in the poem attributed to Phocylides, supra pp. 141f. See also de Decalogo, 165-7, by Philo, supra pp. 146f.



texts are evidence for such a teaching tradition in Hellenistic Judaism and haustafeln origins.<sup>54</sup> Consequently, if this study is thorough in a cross-sectional study of possible haustafeln origins, it must explore any further similarities between the popular household ethics in Hellenistic Jewish texts and the New Testament haustafeln tradition.

In dealing with the content (as distinct from the form) of these citations from Hellenistic Jewish texts there is the problem of distinguishing the Jewish from the Greek material.<sup>55</sup> This was not a difficulty in dealing with the formal elements of the texts, where there were sufficient Stoic parallels and a lack of any close Jewish parallels to the form of the popular household codes.<sup>56</sup> However it is generally difficult to categorize certain instructions as either Jewish or Greek in the texts of Hellenistic Judaism because of the close relationship of Greek and Jewish material. Whether a particular instruction is Jewish or Greek depends on parallels to the instruction in either Greek or Jewish texts. Wherever the problem may arise, this study must clarify whether a particular instruction is Greek or Jewish on the basis of Greek or Jewish parallels.

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54.) Supra p. 138.

55.) The problem also arises in the study of Palestinian Judaism's background to the haustafeln tradition. In this study the Septuagint is considered to reflect mainly Palestinian Judaism, cf. pp. 185f.

56.) No one has argued that the popular Stoic duties occur within the Old Testament, Apocrypha or Pseudopigrapha. For general comments on the Greek influence on Apocryphal literature see: Herford, op. cit., pp. 76, 176, 187.

The above texts from Hellenistic Judaism contain more specific commands than the lists of obligations in the Stoic texts.<sup>57</sup> It has been noted that this feature of the Hellenistic Jewish writings makes the codes in Hellenistic Jewish writings similar to the *haustafeln* tradition, which gives specific commands to specific classes of people. (i.) The religious instructions in the texts of Hellenistic Judaism resemble the instructions in the Stoic texts.<sup>58</sup> Pseudo-Phocylides and Philo admonish men to "honor" God ( *Πρῶτα θεὸν τίμα* ).<sup>59</sup> Philo also speaks of being pious before God in words and action, "τὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις εὐσέβειαν " ,<sup>60</sup> being well-pleasing to God, " εὐαρεστῆσαι " ,<sup>61</sup> and worshipping God, "σέβειν θεὸν".<sup>62</sup> It would be difficult to argue that the instruction to "honor" God (or gods) is particularly Greek or Jewish, because the instruction for honor of the deity or deities is a familiar idiom in both Jewish and Greek writings respectively.<sup>63</sup> However, this instruction may have precedence in the popular codes familiar to Hellenistic Judaism and familiarity in Greek society. (ii.) Both Pseudo-Phocylides and Philo give a specific instruction for the marital relationship and

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57.) The texts of Josephus do not give commands that may have been used in a popular or Jewish tradition, but they explain the commands of the Jewish decalogue.

58.) As mentioned above, proper regard for Jewish monotheism changes the popular duty of honoring gods into a command to honor God.

59.) Supra p. 140; cf. de Vita Mosis, II, 198.

60.) Supra p. 143.

61.) Supra p. 146.

62.) Supra p. 145.

command husbands to love their wives.<sup>64</sup> Pseudo-Phocylides mentions the mutual love which is to be practiced by husbands and wives,<sup>65</sup> and exhorts them to be "kindly minded" ("φρονέη φίλα") towards each other. Philo speaks of the husband's loving care of a wife ("ἐπιμέλειαν γυναικός"). The specific command for a husband (or wife) to love his (or her) spouse is not found in the Stoic texts of the previous chapter.<sup>66</sup> (iii.) It may be noted that the instruction for obedience and service of the fatherland, which is current in the Stoic texts, is not frequent in the Hellenistic Jewish texts. In only one instance Philo mentions the obligation of "defending" one's country ("πατρίδος ὑπερασπίζων").<sup>67</sup> (iv.) Pseudo-Phocylides and Philo mention the honoring of parents,<sup>68</sup> to which there are similar instructions in the popular Stoic ethics.<sup>69</sup> Once again, it would be difficult to argue that the instruction is distinctly Greek or Jewish.<sup>70</sup> (v.) Pseudo-Phocylides gives much more specific in-

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63.) For the occurrence of honoring God in the Septuagint see Proverbs 3:9; 7:2; 14:31; Isaiah 29:13. See also the Psalms and Proverbs for "praise" and "honor" given to God. The particular verb "to honor" is not used in the texts of popular Stoic duties contained in the previous chapter where obligations to the deities are mentioned. But the same idea is present, e.g. the citation from Musonius, supra p. 116.

64.) Supra pp. 141, 143.

65.) L. & S., p. 1426; see "στέργω".

66.) It does occur in instructions regarding the care of parents, supra pp. 118, 124.

67.) Supra pp. 146f.

68.) For the text of Pseudo-Phocylides see supra p. 140, and for the text of Philo supra pp. 143, 145, 146f.

structions for parents than Philo. Philo merely mentions the raising of children as a duty of parents.<sup>71</sup> Pseudo-Phocylides presents this duty for parents by giving a negative command, "do not be angry with children", contrasting "anger" with gentleness and instructing the "curtailing" of a disobedient son.<sup>72</sup> These instructions are not parallel to any instructions for parents in the Stoic texts. (iv.) Pseudo-Phocylides also mentions the just treatment of slaves by masters, which is another specific command not witnessed in the Stoic texts. Concerning all these instructions, the evidence is much too slight to suggest that there was a common tradition of these duties in Hellenistic Judaism. Pseudo-Phocylides and Philo used the form of the popular Stoic duties with the addition of particular instructions, which are not found in the Stoic texts. These two writers give a fuller treatment of the household codes than Stoic writers.<sup>73</sup>

There are some interesting differences and parallels between these texts of Hellenistic Judaism and the New Testament haustafeln. (i.) The specific religious obligation in the Hellenistic Jewish texts is not explicit in the New Testament haustafeln tradition. (Differing from the Stoic texts, the Jewish texts emphasize monotheism.)

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69.) E.g., supra pp. 110, 116.

70.) See the wording of the Septuagint version of the decalogue and passages in Proverbs.

71.) Supra p. 143.

72.) Supra p. 141.



In the New Testament haustafeln passages the fulfillment of social responsibilities as a Christian is generally considered to be the fulfillment of one's devotion to God.<sup>74</sup> Therefore, there is no need for a specific religious obligation alongside other social obligations. This is one major difference between the haustafeln tradition and the household codes in Hellenistic Jewish texts.<sup>75</sup> (ii.) The command for husbands to love their wives in the poem of Pseudo-Phocylides is very similar to the haustafeln tradition, which also instructs husbands to love their wives.<sup>76</sup> Pseudo-Phocylides also includes a reciprocal obligation on the part of the wife, as do the haustafeln. (iii.) Concerning the instruction for children, the Hellenistic Jewish texts are different from the haustafeln tradition. The Hellenistic Jewish texts command children to "honor" their parents, probably in keeping with the command in the decalogue, and the haustafeln tradition specifically uses the command "obey". The meaning of the two commands would seemingly be the same, but it is striking that the haustafeln tradition does not follow the common Greek and Jewish idiom, "to honor" parents.<sup>77</sup> (iv.) It has been noted that

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73.) Kirk, The Vision of God, pp. 121f., views the alleged haustafeln precedents in Hellenistic Judaism to be developments from Palestinian Judaism, citing passages in Philo and Pseudo-Phocylides and noting ethical exhortations in Ben Sira. It may be that the instructions in the Hellenistic Jewish texts are influenced by the writings of Palestinian Judaism.

74.) Kamlah, op. cit., p. 242, believes that the haustafeln instruction for submission to others is a submission to God.

75.) It should be noted that Philo (de Vita Mosis, II, 198; Quod Deus Immutabilis Sit, XXV, 118) considers the religious duty to be the highest virtue, which implies the other social obligations.



the poem of Pseudo-Phocylides instructs parents not to be harsh, but gentle, with children. The instruction makes interesting reading next to the Colossians-Ephesians haustafeln, which instruct fathers not to be harsh with children, but, as Ephesians reads, to raise them in the admonition and nurture of the Lord. (v.) There is a conspicuous infrequency of one's duty to the fatherland in the Hellenistic Jewish texts which is in contrast to the importance of submission to the state in the haustafeln tradition. At this point the haustafeln tradition is closer to the popular Stoic duties in the Stoic texts, where one's obligation to the fatherland is frequently mentioned. (v.) As a point of similarity, the instruction for the just treatment of slaves by masters in the poem of Pseudo-Phocylides is parallel to the instructions for masters in the haustafeln tradition. However, from the points of similarity between the Hellenistic Jewish texts and the haustafeln tradition, it cannot be concluded that the Hellenistic Jewish texts had a direct influence on the haustafeln tradition or represent a tradition which had a direct influence on the haustafeln tradition. If the instructions of the Hellenistic Jewish

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76.) There are no significant verbal parallels in these instructions for husbands and wives. However, it must be taken into account that the poem of Pseudo-Phocylides uses hexameter verse and often Homeric vocabulary.

77.) For the definition of the instruction in the haustafeln tradition see supra pp. 79ff. Epictetus (II,10,7) , supra p. 120, expands the notion of one having a duty to parents and mentions the son who is to be obedient to his father in all things. The same word for obedience in the haustafeln tradition occurs in this passage of Epictetus, but by coincidence. There is not enough evidence to state that there was a popular tradition using the particular word as an instruction.

texts were influenced by the ethical instructions of Palestinian Judaism, particularly the Proverbs and Ben Sira, the similarities between the Hellenistic Jewish texts and the haustafeln tradition may be due to their common Palestinian Jewish heritage.<sup>78.</sup>

C. The Motives of the Household Codes in Hellenistic Judaism.

Concerning the motives of the household codes in Hellenistic Judaism, there is very little evidence for a comparative study with Stoic and haustafeln motives. (i.) The poem of Pseudo-Phocylides only mentions one motive in the cited text:<sup>79.</sup> a husband and wife should be kindly minded towards each other because it is most pleasant and excellent to live in this manner until old age. This motive agrees with the one general motive placed at the end of the poem: if one keeps the precepts of the poem, he shall live well all his days until age brings life to a closing:

Ταῦτα δικαιοσύνης μυστήρια· τοῖα βιεῦντες  
ζωὴν ἐκτελέουσιν· ἀγαθὴν μέχρι γήραος οὐδοῦ.  
80.

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78.) It is not the task of this chapter to explore the points of similarity between these Hellenistic Jewish texts and Wisdom literature from Palestinian Judaism. The reference to Kirk (supra 60, note 73) is relevant to this point.

79.) Supra p. 141.

80.) See Bergk, op. cit., p. 109, ll. 229f. (Bergk's numbering). The following is the author's translation:

"These are the secrets of righteousness; those  
living them  
should bring life to a perfect end until age (brings)  
them) to the threshold of death."

Otherwise the poem does not frequently give motives for the moral precepts. (ii.) Philo gives one main motive in his text of the household codes: if one keeps all of the social obligations, he will be well-pleasing to men and God.<sup>81.</sup> (iii.) In contrast to the Stoic texts and the haustafeln, the Hellenistic Jewish texts do not share common motives of an underlying tradition. The Stoic texts list the household ethics with a frequent and typical Stoic motive: social obligations are to be kept because they are prescribed by reason or nature. This motive probably accompanied these household obligations of the καθήκον, but not the popular oral household codes. The haustafeln texts often reflect the motives contained in the haustafeln tradition. However, there is no evidence from the Hellenistic Jewish texts that the Hellenistic Jewish writers were using a tradition with common motives. Certainly there is a lack of any Stoic or New Testament haustafeln motives in the Hellenistic Jewish texts. This leads one to the conclusion that the household codes in Hellenistic Judaism did not represent a tradition in Hellenistic Judaism which transmitted motives from a Greek tradition to the New Testament haustafeln tradition.

#### D. Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter has been to consider how these household codes to be put towards their servants. (There are no verbal parallels)

81.) Supra p. 147.

tafeln precedents in Hellenistic Judaism resemble the form, instructions and motives of the New Testament haustafeln tradition. This cross-sectional study of material alleged to be haustafeln precedents in other haustafeln studies<sup>82</sup>. indicates that these Hellenistic Jewish household codes resemble the New Testament haustafeln tradition in some formal elements and instructions. (i.) The form of the haustafeln tradition is closer to the form of the household codes in the Hellenistic Jewish texts than the form of the household codes in the Stoic texts. (a.) The sequence of duties -- particularly in the poem of Pseudo-Phocylides -- deals with reciprocal obligations, e.g. wife and husband, which is a feature not found in the Stoic texts.<sup>83</sup>. (b.) The structure of the haustafeln traditional duties is closer to the structure of the duties in Hellenistic Jewish household codes than the structure of the duties in Stoic household codes. The household codes in Stoic texts usually mention only the people to whom one owes his obligations. The Hellenistic Jewish texts intend the duties to be directed towards particular classes of people, e.g. masters to slaves. This structure resembles the haustafeln tradition, which uses the nominative of address and traditional instructions for each class of people. (ii.) There are no common instructions shared by all three writers considered above. The instructions in Pseudo-Phocylides only resemble the haustafeln tradition in two respects: husbands are admonished to love their wives and masters to be just towards their servants. (There are no verbal paral-

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82.) Supra p. 136.

83.) Supra p. 154.

rels between the poem of Pseudo-Phocylides and the haustafeln instructions.) (iii.) There are no motives associated with the Hellenistic household codes which resemble the traditional motives of the haustafeln. Therefore, only the formal elements of the Hellenistic Jewish household codes correspond to the haustafeln tradition: the use of reciprocal duties, the duties directed towards certain classes of people and particular instructions.

The Hellenistic Jewish household codes are closer than the Stoic household codes to the New Testament haustafeln tradition, but it cannot be argued conclusively that there was a teaching tradition within the synagogue of the Diaspora which was a link between the popular Stoic ethics and the New Testament haustafeln tradition. There is a lack of evidence that the household codes existed as a teaching tradition in Hellenistic Judaism. Only the poem of Pseudo-Phocylides, whose purpose and place in Judaism of the Diaspora is disputed, may reflect a teaching tradition. The citations from Philo and Josephus are decidedly used for an apologetic purpose. It seems probable that these two authors used the form of the popular Stoic ethics for their apologetic purposes because the form was familiar to their gentile readers. This leads one to the conclusion that the household codes in Hellenistic Judaism were developed along similar lines as they were in the New Testament haustafeln tradition, but did not influence the New Testament haustafeln tradition.



## V. THE BACKGROUND OF PALESTINIAN JUDAISM

No major haustafeln study has systematically compared the haustafeln tradition with comparable texts of Palestinian Judaism. There appear to be two reasons for this neglect: the prevailing theory that the haustafeln have Greek origins, and the lack of any attempt to define the haustafeln tradition for a comparative study. (i.) Since the work of Karl Weidinger in 1928,<sup>1</sup> it has generally been accepted that the haustafeln have Greek origins. Alfred Seeberg, who first recognized the haustafeln as a Christian tradition,<sup>2</sup> understood the haustafeln to be part of the teachings of the "Two Ways". He noted the close connection between the haustafeln teachings for slaves and children and the teachings of the "Two Ways" in the post-apostolic writings of Barnabas 18:1--19:7 and Didache 4:9-11.<sup>3</sup> According to Seeberg, Ephesians 6:9, Colossians 4:1, I Peter 2:18,

1.) Weidinger, Die Haustafeln.

2.) Ferdinand Hahn, "Einführung", in Alfred Seeberg, Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit, München, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1966, p. xxi. This work was first published in 1903. Hahn's introduction appears in this later edition. See also Seeberg's second work, Die beiden Wege und das Aposteldekret, Leipzig, A. Deichert'sche (Georg Böhme), 1906, p. 31, where Seeberg cites haustafeln passages as part of the ethic of the "Two Ways".

3.) Barnabas 18 introduces the teaching of the "Two Ways" and chapter 19 contains the teaching, in which 19:7 addresses slaves and masters:

οὐκ ἔση διγνώμων οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος. ὑποταγήση κυρίοις ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνη καὶ φόβῳ. οὐ μὴ ἐπιτάξης δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίῳ ἐν πικρίᾳ, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν ἐλπίζουσιν, μήποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσονται τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις θεόν. ὅτι ἦλθεν οὐ κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὗς τὸ πνεῦμα ἠτοίμασεν.

The teachings of the "Two Ways" in Didache 4:9-11 contain instructions concerning the treatment of children and servants:

Didache 4:11 and Barnabas 19:7 reflect the same traditional teaching of the "Two Ways", in which slaves are instructed to submit to their masters in fear.<sup>4</sup> The entire paraenetic tradition of the "Two Ways" was associated with a Jewish catechism used for proselyte baptism and circulated in Aramaic before the time of Jesus and Paul.<sup>5</sup> Thus, Seeberg traced the haustafeln tradition back to an early Jewish catechism which was closely related to the early Christian teaching of the "Two Ways". In criticism of Seeberg's thesis, Martin Dibelius<sup>6</sup> and Karl Weidinger<sup>7</sup> suggested that the haustafeln tradition did not exist as a fixed formula in a Jewish proselyte catechism, which the Christians borrowed. The haustafeln tradition did not find its origins in one such identifiable source, but was the end result of catechetical practice within the church, which altered the tradition under various circumstances. Dibelius and Weidinger went on to cite Hellenistic texts in order to prove that the haustafeln tradition was modeled after popular Hellenistic household

οὐκ ἀρεῖς τὴν χειρὰ σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ. οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίῳ σου, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Θεὸν ἐλπίζουσιν, ἐν πικρίᾳ σου, μήποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσονται τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις Θεόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἡτοίμασεν. ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι ὑποταγήσεσθε τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν ὡς τύπῳ Θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνη καὶ φόβῳ.

These texts are taken from J.B. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers, edited and compiled by J.R. Harmer, London, Macmillan, 1898, pp. 263, 219 respectively.

4.) Seeberg, Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit, pp. 37ff.

5.) Ibid., p. 44.

codes. Having rejected Seeberg's view, Martin Dibelius cited haustafeln-like precedents in Stoic and Hellenistic Jewish authors.<sup>8</sup> Karl Weidinger soon followed Dibelius' lead and developed the thesis that the haustafeln were derived from a popular Stoic ethical tradition which was adopted by Hellenistic Judaism.<sup>9</sup> Since the work of Weidinger, few scholars have challenged Weidinger's thesis, which is now the prevailing theory on haustafeln origins. Even the more recent works of K.H. Schelkle,<sup>10</sup> Rudolf Schnackenburg<sup>11</sup> and Ehrhard Kamlah<sup>12</sup> accept this theory. As a result of the popular acceptance of Weidinger's thesis, the possible influence of Palestinian Judaism has not been emphasized. This is not to say that the influence of Palestinian Judaism has been entirely overlooked.<sup>13</sup> David

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6.) Dibelius, I Thessalonicher, p. 15.

7.) Weidinger, Die Haustafeln, pp. 4ff.

8.) Dibelius, op. cit., pp. 15f. See the discussion of Dibelius' first attempt to understand the haustafeln in the introductory chapter of this thesis, "The Study of the Haustafeln in the Twentieth Century", supra pp. 5ff.

9.) Weidinger, op. cit., pp. 20ff. Weidinger's work discusses more than the Greek origins of the haustafeln. But his work is best known for presenting the evidence for haustafeln-like codes in Greek literature.

10.) K.H. Schelkle, Die Petrusbriefe, Der Judasbrief, Freiburg, Herder, 1964, p. 97.

11.) Rudolf Schnackenburg, The Moral Teachings of the New Testament, translated by J. Holland-Smith and W.J. O'Hara from the second ed. (1962), London, Burn & Oates, 1965, p. 246.

12.) Ehrhard Kamlah, "Υποτάσσεσθαι" in den neutestamentlichen 'Haustafeln', Verborum Veritas, Festschrift für Gustav Stählin, Wuppertal, Theologischer Verlag Rolf Brockhaus, 1970, p. 238.

13.) Kirk, Vision, p. 122, considers the household codes in Hellenistic Judaism (Philo and Pseudo-Phocylides) to be reformulations of

Daube attempts to prove that the haustafeln were derived from Palestinian Hebrew codes.<sup>14</sup> This thesis will be discussed at length below. Ehrhard Kamlah notices the absence of the imperative "to be submissive" from comparable texts of Stoicism and Hellenistic Judaism and proposes that the imperative was derived from the Jewish concept of being humble before God.<sup>15</sup> Other scholars<sup>16</sup> mention the domestic instructions in the Septuagint but do not closely compare them with the haustafeln tradition. In general, there seems to be an awareness that Palestinian Judaism had some influence on the haustafeln tradition. (ii.) However, apart from the specific points made by Daube and Kamlah, there has not been a close comparison of the haustafeln tradition with relevant texts of Palestinian Judaism. Such a comparison would require a definition of the haustafeln tradition. Alfred Seeberg did not think that it was possible to recover the haustafeln tradition.<sup>17</sup> Other studies by Dibelius, Weidinger, Daube and Kamlah have singled out certain features of the haustafeln texts and compared them to Greek or Jewish writings without a lengthy description of the haustafeln tradition. E.G. Selwyn<sup>18</sup>.

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Palestinian Jewish ethics. Presumably, he would consider the New Testament haustafeln to be a reformulation of Palestinian Jewish ethics.

14.) D. Daube, "Participle and Imperative in I Peter," The First Epistle of St. Peter, by E.G. Selwyn, London, Macmillan, 1964, pp. 467ff.; and D. Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism, London, Athlone, 1956, pp. 90-97.

15.) Kamlah, op. cit., pp. 237-243.

16.) Weidinger, op. cit., p. 50; Selwyn, I Peter, p. 421; Eduard Lohse, "Paränese und Kerygma im I Petrusbrief", ZNTW, XLV, (1954), p. 45, among others.



comes closest to defining the haustafeln tradition, but this is done in order to prove that the I Peter haustafeln are independent of the Pauline epistles, not in order to compare the haustafeln tradition with material extraneous to the New Testament. In fact, no haustafeln study has defined the haustafeln tradition in order to compare the tradition with relevant texts from Palestinian Judaism. Having defined the haustafeln tradition in the second chapter, this thesis is prepared to compare the haustafeln tradition with texts from Palestinian Judaism.<sup>19.</sup>

The field of inquiry in Palestinian Judaism is confined to those texts of the Old Testament, Intertestamental Literature and Rabbinic Writings which usually have the same subject matter as the haustafeln tradition. In most cases this involves ethics concerning citizenship and domestic relationships (i.e. wives-husbands, children-parents and slaves-masters). These civic and domestic ethics are not always grouped together in one passage as they were frequently grouped together in Hellenistic texts, but are generally distributed over a number of different texts, which are primarily located in the Mosaic legislation and the Wisdom Literature. The study of certain instructional and motivational themes, e.g. the "doing of good", includes

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17.) Seeberg, op. cit., p. 37.

18.) Selwyn, op. cit., pp. 422ff. Philip Carrington, The Primitive Christian Catechism, Cambridge, University Press, 1940, pp. 49ff., also notes some vocabulary of the tradition.

19.) Since there are no haustafeln-like codes in Palestinian Judaism, as there are in Hellenistic texts, this chapter particularly studies the instructional and motivational themes in relation to Palestinian



texts outside of domestic ethical instructions. The study of particular linguistic forms, such as the nominative of address and the participial imperative, leads to an investigation of some Jewish writings which have little in common with the actual content of the haustafeln tradition.

A. The Form of the Haustafeln Tradition and Palestinian Precedents.

The form of the haustafeln tradition is distinctly different from the form of ethics normally found in Palestinian Judaism. The form of the haustafeln tradition has been defined according to the "sequence" and "structure" of the duties. There is no evidence that the "sequence" and "structure" of the haustafeln form was commonly used in ethics of Palestinian Judaism. (i.) The "sequence" of duties in the haustafeln tradition begins with an instruction for all Christians in general, a kind of introduction to the tradition, which is followed by instructions for civic obedience and a list of domestic duties in an order of descending importance: wives and husbands, children and parents and slaves and masters. The instruction to the subordinate is followed by an instruction for the superior in each relationship within the household. This address to the subordinates before the superiors suggests that the haustafeln tradition was primarily concerned about the place of the subordinates within the household. In contrast to this haustafeln format, there is not a strong tendency in Palestinian Judaism to group together household duties in a concise catalogue of this nature.<sup>20</sup> The closest examples

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Judaism.

to the haustafeln-type of form are found in Ben Sira 7:17ff.; 33:19ff.; and 42:1ff. Even in these series of instructions there is no mention of civic responsibility.<sup>21</sup> These proverbs are not concerned with people in an order of descending importance.<sup>22</sup> In each list there is a noticeable lack of any instruction directly addressed to subordinates followed by reciprocal instructions directly addressed to superiors. It is typical of the domestic instructions in Ben Sira ( and the Wisdom Literature in general) that the person being addressed is assumed to be the head of the household in every respect as father, husband and master.<sup>23</sup> Thus, the haustafeln-type sequence of instructions is without parallel in lists of ethics in Palestinian Judaism.<sup>24</sup> (ii.) The structure of the individual haustafeln duties does not resemble the syntactical structure of

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20.) Kirk, Vision, p. 122.

21.) The closest approximation to the civic responsibility is the honor of the priests in Ben Sira 7:29ff.

22.) There almost seems to be a random arrangement: 7:18ff., brother, wife, servant, children (especially daughters), wife (again), father, mother and priests; 33:19ff., son, wife, brother, friend and servant; and 41:3ff., friend, business partner, children, wife and daughter.

23.) There are sentence proverbs, as distinct from instructions (cf. Wm. McKane, Proverbs, London, SCM, 1970, p. 3), for the "wise son" (Proverbs 10:1; 13:1; 15:20; 17:25; 19:13, 26), the "good wife" (Proverbs 31) and the "able servant" (Proverbs 17:2), but they are not accompanied by a direct address, as in the haustafeln, or reciprocal duties. As an example of the person addressed as "my son" assuming the head of the household, see Ben Sira 7:3, 17ff.

24.) A review of the Septuagint and Rabbinical Literature has led me to this conclusion. Only the Wisdom Literature is discussed at this point, because it is closest to the haustafeln form. Many other differences exist between the haustafeln sequence and ethics in the Mosaic Laws and Proverbs. In Rabbinic Literature there is a grouping of subordinates in "Berakoth" 3:3 and "Sheqalim" 1:5 without instructions which resemble the haustafeln sequence.

domestic duties in the Wisdom Literature. Of course the most obvious difference is the poetical style of the Wisdom Literature in contrast to the prose style of the haustafeln tradition. Besides this difference, not all the formal elements of the haustafeln tradition are to be found in the domestic instructions of the Wisdom Literature.<sup>25</sup> The individual haustafeln instructions contain an address, an instruction and a motive or some combination of these constituents. For example, the general instructions and the instructions for civic obedience are not introduced with a direct address because they are intended for all Christians. Where a direct address is used in the Wisdom Literature, the more personal form, "my son", is used. As mentioned above, whether the person addressed is actually a child or a pupil in school, it is assumed that he will be in the role of a father, husband or master. "Sentence wisdom" makes observations about different classes of people without a direct address to them: "the wise son does this ... and the foolish son does that ...". The lack of any direct address to different classes of people in the Wisdom Literature makes it unlikely that the haustafeln were modeled after the domestic instructions of the Wisdom Literature.<sup>26</sup> In general, the absence of the

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25.) The instructional proverb is closer to the haustafeln structure than the sentence proverb. The domestic ethics cited above are instructional proverbs. McKane, op. cit., p. 3, distinguishes between the two: "the most important formal distinction between instruction and the wisdom sentence is that the imperative is proper to the first and the indicative to the second. The instruction commands and exhorts and gives reasons why its directives should be obeyed ... The instruction is marked by direct address and its aim is to command and persuade. The wisdom sentence is an observation with an impersonal form which states a truth but neither exhorts nor persuades."

haustafeln form in the Jewish Wisdom Literature indicates that the haustafeln form was not derived from Palestinian Judaism.

David Daube argues that two Hebraisms in the haustafeln texts indicate that the haustafeln were translated from Hebrew codes of Palestinian Judaism. (i.) He contends that the participial imperative, which is used in the traditional instructions for wives<sup>27</sup>. and slaves,<sup>28</sup>. is an idiom derived from the translation of Hebrew codes into Greek by New Testament writers.<sup>29</sup>. Daube begins his discussion by criticizing Moulton's explanation of the participial imperative as a genuine Hellenistic development.<sup>30</sup>. Moulton has tried to prove that the participial imperative is a Hellenistic

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26.) The haustafeln duty for each class of people generally contains some instructions which are followed by motives. These two formal elements (instruction and motive) would be expected in almost any didactic literature and are not to be cited as Jewish models for the haustafeln. Schelkle, op. cit., p. 97, suspects that the presence of imperatives in the haustafeln, in contrast to comparable Greek codes, is due to the influence of Israelite apodictic laws, commanding "Thou shalt". This connection seems too remote.

27.) Cf. Ephesians 5:21f.; I Peter 3:1 and Titus 2:5.

28.) I Peter 2:18 is taken by this thesis to represent the traditional wording of the haustafeln tradition (supra p. 84.)

29.) David Daube, "Participle and Imperative in I Peter", The First Epistle of St. Peter, by E.G. Selwyn, London, Macmillan, 1964, pp. 467ff. For other participles with an imperatival force outside the haustafeln see: II Corinthians 8:24; Ephesians 4:2f.; 5:19f.; Hebrews 13:5; I Peter 1:14; 4:8-10; Romans 12:9-19; Colossians 3:16.

30.) Ibid., p. 467. See Selwyn's references to Moulton's Grammar of New Testament Greek in the footnotes.



Greek idiom by citing various examples in papyri. (ii.) Daube points out that Moulton's papyri examples are not independent (as are the participles in the New Testament letters), but dependent on a finite verb. If Moulton's examples are independent participles used as imperatives, they are evidence that the "participial imperative" is a genuine Hellenistic development which does not only occur in Greek texts (particularly in the New Testament) where Hebrew imperatives are being translated. Before criticizing Moulton's particular examples from papyri, Daube warns against two mistakes. First, it would be wrong to account for the presence of a participle in any text by assuming an anacoluthon, such as the omission of ἐστί <sup>31</sup> or some other implication.<sup>32</sup> According to Daube, "To do so would be making the text suit our notions of grammar instead of deducing our grammar from the texts." Secondly, it cannot be assumed that the participle occurs in the haustafeln because the writer is careless and using bad grammar, for in the New Testament the participle is carefully used in rules of social behavior.<sup>33</sup> With these two points of caution, Daube proceeds to eliminate Moulton's examples by three arguments. (a.) Daube's first argument against Moulton's examples is that the participles in these papyri are not independent but dependent on a finite verb. Most of Moulton's examples have a concluding line which read as in papyrus "G 35": "ἐαυτῶν δὲ ἐπιμελόμενοι ἵν' ὑγιαίνητε. ἔσμεν ἐν Πτολεμαίδι. ἔρρωσθε", without the

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31.) Daube, op. cit., p. 467.

32.) Cf. B-D., p. 245, par. 468.



sentence "ἔσμεν ἐν Πτολεμαίδι" . Daube explains that "G 35" employs a particular use of the participle:

To begin with the formula ἐπιμελόμενοι , it is true that, in G 35, we are almost forced to treat it as an imperative. ... The natural translation is "Take care of yourselves that you should be fit. We are in Ptolemais. Keep well." But in all other letters where the formula occurs it can easily be connected, as a proper, classical participle, with ἔρρωσθε . ... The only one with anything remarkable about the participle at all is the first, G 35. But bearing in mind the evidence as a whole, we shall hardly claim that G 35 argues a genuine Hellenistic use of the participle for the imperative. The truth is that it was usual to finish a letter with some friendly phrase like "Take care of yourself". We come across the actual imperative, ἐπιμέλου ; combinations like χαιρεῖ σαυτοῦ ἐπιμελόμενος ; and combinations like ἐπιμελόμενος σαυτοῦ ἔρρωσο -- namely in all the texts cited above except G 35. And even in explaining G 35 it is from this combination that we have to start. Probably the writer was just careless. It is not only in the papyri that when a man comes to the stereotyped conclusion of a letter, his style and grammar are apt to grow laxer.<sup>34</sup>

In this instance Daube's argument against Moulton's position is not conclusive. In opposition to Daube's interpretation of the participles, (1.) it is equally credible that the writer of "G 35" inserted a sentence between the participle and the finite verb because the participle is usually understood as an imperative. (2.) Also, the prose construction seems awkward with a dependent participle separated from its finite verb by a final clause, as in most the examples, or by a final clause and a sentence, as in "G 35".<sup>35</sup>

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33.) Daube, op. cit., p. 471.

34.) Ibid., pp. 467f.

35.) For Daube's criticism to be convincing, he should provide examples of such participial construction from Greek texts.

By suggesting that the writer of "G 35" was careless to insert a sentence between the participle and the verb, Daube commits the very error he mentions in his preface to his critique of Moulton's papyri examples.<sup>36</sup> (b.) Daube's second argument is against Moulton's example of the participial imperative in "TbP 59":

For once again the participle appears towards the end of a letter and can be construed classically, by connecting it with ἔρρωσθε. Here is the passage (ll. 8ff.): ἐν οἷς ἐὰν προσδέησθῃ μοι ἐπιτάσσοντές μοι προθυμότερον διὰ τὸ ἄνωθεν φοβεῖσθαι καὶ σέβεσθαι τὸ ἱερόν. ἔρρωσθε. This may be rendered thus: "In which, if you need me, commanding my services (since of old I revere and worship the temple), keep well". There is no need to make ἐπιτάσσοντες an imperative: it goes with ἔρρωσθε, as a proper participle. The letter in question is very brief: we should call it a note, and the telegraphic style seems quite natural. In English letters, the subject of the concluding phrase is the writer himself. Hence we find clauses like "Looking forward to seeing you. Yours". There is no reason, in interpreting letters where the subject of the concluding phrase is the addressee, to boggle at clauses like ἐαυτῶν ἐπιμελόμενοι -- or ἐπιτάσσοντές μοι -- ἔρρωσθε.

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Again in criticism of Daube's argument, (1.) it should be noted that Daube illustrates his point from English but not an Hellenistic idiom, where the subject of the concluding phrase is the writer of the letter and not the recipient of the letter. Also, (2.) Daube is

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36.) Daube, op. cit., p. 468: "However, even if it were true that ἐπιμελόμενοι, at the close of a letter, could be used as a real imperative, no sweeping conclusions ought to be drawn. A formula for ending a letter is a very special case. Even if the ἐπιμελόμενοι used in finishing letters should at some date have become so detached from its governing verb that it assumed the character of a real imperative (an evolution for which there is no evidence), this would not entitle us to infer that, in Hellenistic speech, the participle might quite generally stand for the imperative."

37.) Ibid., p. 468.

implying that the writer of the letter is the subject of the participle, after having warned in his opening comments that we should not read any anacoluthons or implications into the text in order to fit our notions of grammar. (3.) Daube's third argument attempts to eliminate Moulton's example of a participle imperative in papyrus "FP 112".<sup>38</sup> The following phrase appears in the letter: "... ἐπέχον τῷ δακτυλιστῇ Ζωίλῳι ", in which Moulton believes the writer wrote ἐπέχον for ἐπέχων, the participial imperative. Moulton therefore translates the phrase, "Give heed to the measurer (?) Zoilus". But Daube notes that ἐπέχον might represent some aorist imperative, or some participle in connection with a previous finite verb, or a word meaning "according to", or a participle in the place of the indicative. In short, Daube notes that the Greek is too ambiguous to be cited as evidence for a general rule in Hellenistic Greek, which seems to be a fair judgment of the example. Although this third criticism by Daube may stand as a legitimate objection against Moulton's evidence for the use of the participial imperative in Hellenistic Greek, Daube's first two critical points do not undermine Moulton's position.<sup>39</sup> In the light of all three of Daube's critical points, Daube does not

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38.) Ibid., pp. 468f.

39.) H.G. Meecham, "The Use of the Participle for the Imperative in the New Testament", ET, LVIII, 8, (May 1947), pp. 207f., recognizes some of the same weaknesses of Daube's arguments mentioned above and argues for Moulton's position. A.N. Jannaris, An Historical Greek Grammar, London, Macmillan, 1897, p. 507, believes that the participial imperative is a Greek development derived from the use of the conditional participle. For another critical view of Daube's position see Nigel Turner, Grammatical Insights into the New Testament, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1965, pp. 167f.

argue conclusively against Moulton's position.

However, on four other accounts Daube points out that Moulton's papyri examples are not parallel to the participial imperatives in the New Testament. In contrast to the participial imperatives in the New Testament Moulton's examples are (i.) not in the main text (but at the end) of various letters and (ii.) not for general (but specific) instructions. Furthermore, Moulton's explanation of the participial imperative as a Hellenistic development is unable to account for the New Testament participial imperatives appearing (iii.) in lists with adjectival imperatives and (iv.) in ethical codes limited to social conduct.<sup>40</sup> As an alternative theory, Daube theorizes that the New Testament haustafeln were translated from a text of Hebrew rules, which had the participial imperative of the Aboth and social rules similar to those of the Derek Erez literature. According to Daube's theory, in the process of translating the Hebrew codes into Greek the New Testament haustafeln tradition acquired the Hebraism of the participial imperative. This "translation theory" is not liable to the five objections against Moulton's explanation. The participles of such a Hebrew ethical code are (i.) standing independently (as in the Aboth), (ii.) occurring within an ethical code rather than at the end of a letter and (iii.) representing general rules of conduct rather than specific rules. This "translation theory" also explains why the participial imperatives are (iv.) written with other

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<sup>40</sup>.) Daube, op. cit., p. 476.



adjectival imperatives<sup>41</sup>. and (v.) limited to social conduct.<sup>42</sup> In evaluation of Daube's position we may conclude that the Rabbinic material cited by Daube may be too late for evidence of possible Hebrew codes during the formation of the haustafeln tradition.<sup>43</sup> Secondly, although the participial imperative is a rare idiom in Hellenistic Greek, it is still present. It cannot be stated conclusively that the participle in Hellenistic Greek could not have had the flexibility to be used as an imperative.<sup>44</sup> Thirdly, and most important, it is not necessary to assume a text of Hebrew codes from which the New Testament haustafeln tradition was translated in order to explain the presence of a Hebraism in the New Testament haustafeln. If the participial imperative is considered strictly a Hebraism in the New Testament, it is too ambitious to conclude that the entire haustafeln tradition was translated from such a code, because the participial imperative only occurs in two (of seven) traditional instructions (wives and slaves).

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41.) Ibid., pp. 476f. Daube reasons: "Hebrew is poor in, and rather averse to, adjectives; Greek is not. Consequently, when Hebrew rules are done into Greek, it will often be easiest to render an adverbial phrase by an adjective... The point is that this translation theory accounts not only for the presence of the imperative adjectives in the New Testament, but also for the fact, already mentioned, that they never stand by themselves but always go with imperative participles, while the latter can stand by themselves." Cf. D. Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism, London, Athlone, 1956, pp. 96f.

42.) Daube, "Participle and Imperative in I Peter", pp. 477, 484.

43.) Turner, op. cit., p. 168.

44.) Professor A. Barr has pointed out to me that the haustafeln passages are never begun with a participle imperative but an imperative. The instructions are then continued with participles with an imperatival force. These participles may be viewed as a regular use of the continuing participle.



(ii.) Daube recognizes the nominative of address as a second Hebraism.<sup>45</sup> The use of the definite article with the nominative of address occurs in six of the traditional duties, according to the definition of the tradition in Chapter II of this thesis. Daube believes that the nominative of address is also derived from the translation of the haustafeln tradition from Hebrew codes.<sup>46</sup> Daube argues that the "nominative with article is frequent in the New Testament instead of the vocative" where the Greek is rendering the Hebrew. According to Daube, it is to be understood that the nominative of address in the haustafeln codes is also rendering a Hebrew vocative. However, the widely-accepted explanation of the nominative of address by Blass and Debrunner does not explain the nominative of address in Colossians 3:18ff. (and supposedly all other haustafeln passages) as a rendering of the Hebrew vocative. Blass and Debrunner note that "... where a vocative is accompanied by any additions... the nominative can replace it even in places not translated from the Hebrew",<sup>47</sup> and that in Colossians 3:18ff. such additions are implied and not expressed. Therefore it is not necessary to take these nominatives as direct translations of the Hebrew vocative. Daube argues

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45.) For Daube this is a "small point" in his argument for Hebrew codes being the source of the haustafeln (op. cit., p. 482). However the nominative of address is more frequent in the haustafeln tradition than the participial imperative.

46.) Ibid., pp. 482f.

47.) Ibid., p. 483.

48.) Ibid., p. 483.

that this explanation is begging the question, and before accepting Blass and Debrunner's explanation, " ... one would want independent evidence that the vocative may give place to the nominative, in Greek, not only if there are additions but also if additions could be thought of."<sup>48</sup> In other words, Blass and Debrunner have not provided sufficient evidence to prove that the nominative of address is used where additions are implied, such as (ὅμοις μὲν ) αἱ γυναῖκες... (ὅμοις δὲ ) οἱ ἄνδρες. The most recent edition of Blass-Debrunner<sup>49</sup> mentions the tendency (since Homer) of the nominative to replace the vocative and still explains Colossians 3:18ff. according to the above argument. Edwin Mayser cites several examples of the nominative taking the place of the vocative in the Ptolemaic papyri, but does not cite any classes of people addressed in the nominative.<sup>50</sup> No exact parallels to the haustafeln nominative of address are offered by Blass-Debrunner or Mayser. If the tendency of the nominative to replace the vocative is present in Classical and Hellenistic Greek,<sup>51</sup> it is not unreasonable to suppose that the nominative of address was assimilated into Biblical Greek from Hellenistic Greek. Even if the nominative of address is a Hebraism, it is not necessary to suppose that in every instance in the New Testament it directly translates

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49.) B-D, p. 81.

50.) Edwin Mayser, Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit, II, 1, Berlin u. Leipzig, Walter de Gruyter, 1923, p. 55. Mayser refers to J.H. Moulton, Einleitung in die Sprache des NT, Heidelberg, 1911, pp. 108ff., which is unavailable to me.

51.) It is noteworthy that Blass-Debrunner have cited this tendency in Attic Greek where inferiors are addressed, B-D, p. 81.

a Hebrew vocative. It is unlikely that there was a direct influence from Attic Greek, but the nominative of address may have been used in the haustafeln for the same reason it was sometimes used in Attic Greek. It was an impersonal form of addressing inferiors, "... who were, so to speak, thereby addressed in the 3rd person."<sup>52</sup>. The nominative of address would lend itself to an ethical code as the haustafeln, which begins by addressing inferiors of the household, wives, children and slaves, in generally an impersonal approach. The practice of using the impersonal nominative of address for inferiors would easily be applied to duties for superiors as reciprocal duties were incorporated into the tradition.

In conclusion, it is not necessary to postulate a Hebrew code from which the haustafeln were translated in order to explain the origins of the haustafeln participial imperative and the nominative of address. There are three possible derivations for these two idioms. (i.) Both the participial imperative and the nominative of address have precedents in Hellenistic Greek. The parallels are not in ethical codes for groups of people. It is conceivable that these two formal elements of the haustafeln tradition developed in the Greek language without any Hebrew influence. (ii.) It is possible that both idioms are Hebraisms which were generally assimilated into New Testament Greek from Semitic influences and employed in the haustafeln.

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<sup>52</sup>.) B-D., p. 81.

(iii.) Or, according to Daube's "translation theory", it is possible that the haustafeln tradition was translated directly from Hebrew codes. For the reasons given above, this third explanation is the least likely.

#### B. The Instructional and Motivational Themes of the Haustafeln Tradition and Palestinian Precedents.

The previous chapter defined the haustafeln tradition in terms of instructional and motivational themes. Wherever possible, these themes have been verbally defined by particular imperatives and motivational phrases. But, frequently the haustafeln tradition has been identified according to the instructional and motivational themes without verbal definition. The general instructions, which introduce the haustafeln tradition, speak of the doing of good in the part of all Christians. The instruction for civic obedience is to submit to the state, which is to punish the offender and reward those who do good. The domestic responsibilities for wives to submit to their husbands, husbands to love their wives, children to obey their parents, fathers to be considerate with their children, slaves to submit to their masters and masters to be fair and just towards their slaves are all instructional themes of the haustafeln tradition. There is a general motive for Christians to submit and to do good in order that they will make a favorable impression on the Gentile population. The fear of the Lord, who rewards all men justly, accompanies both the instructions for slaves and masters as a motivational theme.<sup>53</sup>



Two problems arise in comparing the content of the haustafeln tradition with possible background sources in Palestinian Judaism.

(i.) Generally speaking, it is not difficult to find parallels to the haustafeln tradition in both Greek and Jewish sources or literature which are prior to or contemporary with the New Testament. It is widely recognized that the haustafeln instructions reflect a conservative, popular, status quo ethic, containing nothing radically different from the norms of domestic life in the first century Graeco-Roman world.<sup>54</sup> What is found in the haustafeln is to be expected in the moral literature of Greek and Jewish authors wherever family life is discussed. Therefore, any proposed relationship between the haustafeln tradition and Jewish texts must be substantiated by specific and close parallels. If possible, verbal parallels are to be stressed. (ii.) Secondly, the haustafeln tradition may be parallel to Jewish texts in the Hellenistic era which are influenced by Greek ethics. The broad question of how much Greek influence is evident in Palestinian Judaism need not detain this discussion. But in each instance where a Jewish text is cited as background for the haustafeln tradition, the dating of the text and the attitude of the author towards Hellenization in Palestine must be understood. From this broader understanding it may be deduced whether the text reflects distinctly Jewish teachings uninfluenced by Hellenism. Therefore, the follow-

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53.) Cf. supra p. 104.

54.) E.g. cf. Weidinger, op. cit., pp. 18ff.; M. Dibelius, "Das soziale Motiv im Neuen Testament", Botschaft und Geschichte, I, Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1953, p. 181; H.D. Wendland, "Zur Sozialethischen Bedeutung der neutestamentlichen Haustafeln", Die Lebhaftigkeit des Wortes, Otto Michel u. U. Mann, Hamburg, In Furche-Verlag, 1958, p. 34.



ing texts from Palestinian Judaism are to be evaluated in the light of their date and their susceptibility to Hellenistic influences.

### 1. General Instructions.

The New Testament haustafeln tradition was probably introduced by some general instructions for all Christians to do good.<sup>55</sup> It has been noted <sup>56</sup> that two passages in I Peter ( I Peter 2:13-17 and 3:8-12) and a passage in Romans (Romans 12:17-21) contain a general admonition for all Christians to do good. These passages are closely aligned to the haustafeln passages by their proximity and their teaching on the doing of good. The passages in I Peter introduce and conclude a haustafeln section respectively. The passage in Romans introduces what is about to be said for submission to the state. We also find that the teaching on the doing of good is a theme that occurs throughout the haustafeln instructions. It is probable that these general teachings on the doing of good were used to introduce the more specific instructions of the haustafeln tradition. In these general instructions the doing of good is contrasted to the doing of evil, a contrast which might be expected in any such general instruction. But the doing of good has more than a social significance:

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55.) Cf supra. pp. 39ff.

56.) Supra p. 41.

it is a means by which one is approved by God. In regard to its social significance, the doing of good is to be done towards those who are doing evil or are in some way opposed to the Christians. The good deeds of the Christians make a distinct impression on the ones who do evil and bring about a change in the evildoer.

Both the religious and social significance for the doing of good are to be found in the Psalms and Proverbs. The author of I Peter emphasizes the religious significance of the doing of good by quoting Psalm 34:12-16 as a fitting climax to the main haustafeln section in I Peter:

ὁ γὰρ θέλων ζωὴν ἀγαπᾶν  
καὶ ἰδεῖν ἡμέρας ἀγαθὰς  
παυσάτω τὴν γλῶσσαν ἀπὸ κακοῦ  
καὶ χεῖλη τοῦ μὴ λαλῆσαι δόλον,  
ἐγκλινάτω δὲ ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ ποιησάτω ἀγαθόν,  
ζητησάτω εἰρήνην καὶ διωξάτω αὐτήν.  
ὅτι ὀφθαλμοὶ κυρίου ἐπὶ δικαίους  
καὶ ὦτα αὐτοῦ εἰς δέησιν αὐτῶν,  
πρόσωπον δὲ κυρίου ἐπὶ ποιοῦντας κακά.

57.

The man who does good will be rewarded by God for his deeds of goodness (vs. 10), and the Lord will hear the prayer of the man who does good. These general instructions are speaking of the doing of good in

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57.) I Peter 3:10-12, Nestle's Text, 24th ed. See Selwyn, op. cit., for how this is a modification of the Septuagint version.

contrast to the doing of evil, all the ways that are opposed to God. The author of I Peter is therefore referring to a concept of doing good that has more significance than actions which are socially acceptable. The doing of good is the doing of God's will, which is in contrast to disobeying the ways of the Lord. This religious meaning of the doing of good in contrast to the doing of evil does not occur in the Proverbs, but frequently appears in the Psalms.<sup>58</sup> The social significance of the doing of good is emphasized in I Peter's introduction to the haustafeln (2:11-12) and the general instructions in Romans 12:14-21. I Peter 2:12 instructs the Christians to maintain good conduct (the doing of good) among the Gentiles who are impressed with the good deeds of the Christians and brought about to praise God. These good works particularly combat the false charges which are brought against the Christians, who are "aliens and exiles" in a society which is sometimes hostile to them. No matter what the opposition to the Christians, the author of I Peter attempts to instill the hope in his readers that their good works will be used to bring about a change in the people who are enemies of the faith. It is this good that overcomes the accusations, errors and evil of the unbelievers. Paul also speaks of this social significance of doing good in Romans 12:14-21, where good is to be repaid for evil. According to this passage, the Christians should not take up the cause of vengeance, but should trust that the justice of God will prevail. In the place of vengeance, the Christian is to repay good for evil and

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58.) Psalms (Septuagint) 13:1; 33:12-16; 36:3,27; 52:2,3.

seek to bring a change in the evil doer. Paul quotes Proverbs 25:21f.:

ἀλλὰ ἐὰν πεινᾷ ὁ ἐχθρός σου, ψώμιζε αὐτόν·

ἐὰν διψᾷ, πότιζε αὐτόν· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν ἄν-

θρακας πυρὸς σωρεύσεις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

59.

The good works done in response to evil bring the wicked man to a sense of remorse and contrition, because he does not deserve the deeds of kindness.<sup>60</sup> In this manner good overcomes the evil of the enemy who is brought to penitence. In both I Peter 2:11-12 and Romans 12:14-21 there is this social aspect of good works: they bring about a change in the one who does evil. I Peter 2:11-12 may take the idea one step further, which we do not find in the Proverbs, that the good works will bring about the repentance of the unbeliever who will praise God. At least both passages take up an idea of good works which is found in the Proverbs: good works have a constructive and practical result on one who does evil. Therefore both the religious and social significance of the doing of good, as taught in these general haustafeln instructions, have their roots in the Old Testament.<sup>61</sup>

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59.) Romans 12:20 (Nestle).

60.) McKane, *op. cit.*, p. 592. K. Stendahl, "Hate, Non-retaliation and Love", *HTR*, LV, (1962), pp. 343ff., does not believe that Paul is referring to a change in the evil doer, but a "making room" for the judgment of God.

61.) The last line of Proverbs 25:22 (LXX), which emphasizes the religious aspect of doing good, may be a later addition; McKane, *op. cit.*, p. 591. Otherwise the Greek follows the Hebrew.

In connection with this general instruction for the doing of good it is fitting to discuss the general motive of Christians making a favorable impression on their society. It has been noted in the definition of the haustafeln tradition<sup>62</sup>. that there is a general motive in the haustafeln tradition for Christians to make a favorable impression on society. This notion is expressed in several ways and is not connected with one particular instruction. In the general instructions of I Peter 2:11-12 good conduct among the gentiles will cause the gentiles to praise God. In the instructions for civic obedience in I Peter 2:15 the doing of good will put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. The instructions for civic obedience of both Romans 13:1-7 and I Peter 2: 13-17 express the hope that the good works of the Christians will be recognized by the pagan authorities as worthy of praise. The author of I Peter reminds wives that they may "win" their husbands without a word by their goodness (3: 1ff.). Titus teaches that the good conduct of wives will keep the word of God from being defamed, 2:5. I Timothy 6:1 teaches slaves that their honorable treatment of masters will keep the "teachings" from being defamed. These passages all share a common concern for Christians to make a favorable impression on their superiors, authorities, husbands and masters. In most of the passages this concern is closely connected with the instruction for the doing of good or good works, but that is not always the case. At least it seems probable that the instruction for doing good and the motive for making a favorable impression on society were closely linked

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62.) Supra pp. 96f.



in the haustafeln tradition.

It has already been demonstrated that the concept of good works bringing about a change in one's adversary is found in the Proverbs. The general instructions in Romans 12:20, which quotes Proverbs 25:21f., emphasize this social significance of doing good. This concept of doing good seems to be at the basis of the general motive for the haustafeln tradition. But this general motive, to make a favorable impression on society, is expressed in other ways than the general instructions in Romans 12. The passages in I Peter 2:12,15; 3:1 seem to develop the idea of doing good to one's adversary one step further: the doing of good will bring the adversary to praise God.

The idea of good works bringing one's adversary to praise God is probably a Christian reworking of Jewish ideas. The Testament of Naphtali 8:4-6, which mentions the doing of good as a means of bringing the Gentiles to praise God, has been recognized as a parallel to I Peter 2:12ff.<sup>63</sup>. The texts read as follows:<sup>64</sup>.

I Peter 2:12,15

τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν  
ἔχοντες καλήν, ἵνα ἐν ᾧ καταλαλοῦσιν  
ὑμῶν ὡς κακοποιῶν, ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἔρ-  
γων ἐποπτεύοντες δοξάσωσιν τὸν θεόν

T. of Naphtali 8:4-6

Ἐὰν οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐργάσησθε τὸ καλόν,  
εὐλογήσουσιν ὑμᾶς οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ οἱ  
ἄγγελοι,  
καὶ ὁ θεὸς δοξασθήσεται ἐν τοῖς

63.) Selwyn, op. cit., p. 171; Van Unnik, op. cit., p. 105.

ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς.

... ὅτι οὕτως ἐστὶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ  
θεοῦ, ἀγαθοποιοῦντας φιμοῦν τὴν  
τῶν ἀφρόνων ἀνθρώπων ἀγνοσίαν·  
66.

ἔθνεσιν δι' ὑμῶν,  
καὶ ὁ διάβολος φεύζεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν,  
καὶ τὰ θηρία φοβηθήσονται ὑμᾶς,  
καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἀγαπήσει ὑμᾶς,  
καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι ἀνθέξονται ὑμῶν.  
ὥς ἂν τις τέκνον ἐκθρέφῃ καλῶς  
μνεΐαν ἔχει καλήν,  
οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ καλοῦ ἔργου  
μνήμη παρὰ θεοῦ ἀγαθή.  
Τὸν δὲ μὴ ποιοῦντα τὸ καλόν,  
καταράσσονται αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι  
καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι,  
καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἀδοξήσει ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν  
δι' αὐτοῦ,  
καὶ ὁ διάβολος οἰκείουται αὐτὸν ὡς  
ἴδιον σκεῦος,  
καὶ πᾶν θηρίον κατακυριεύσει αὐτῷ,  
καὶ ὁ Κύριος μισήσει αὐτόν. 65.

64.) Other passages of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs teach the doing of good towards those who do evil: cf. Testament of Benjamin 4:3; 5:1-3 and the Testament of Joseph 18:2. This teaching is in agreement with the Proverbs, e.g. Proverbs 25:21f.

65.) Testament of Naphtali 8:4-6, R.H. Charles, ed., The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Oxford, Clarendon, 1908, pp. 156f. M. de Jonge, Testamenta XII Patriarcharum, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1964, pp. XIIIff. criticizes Charles' text and argues that the best representative of the oldest textual tradition is "b" in Charles' critical apparatus. This different opinion on the textual tradition does not alter the Testament of Naphtali 8:4-6 in any significant way from Charles' text (cf. de Jonge, op. cit., p. 57).

In both passages the doing of good impresses the gentiles, who come to praise God on account of the good works of the believers.

Whether the Testament of Naphtali 8:4-6 can be taken as Jewish background to the haustafeln tradition depends on the origins of the Testaments, on which scholars are far from agreement.<sup>67</sup> R.H. Charles has argued that it is basically a Jewish work with Christian interpolations which was written about 109-107 B.C.<sup>68</sup> Since the discovery of Aramaic and Hebrew texts of the Testaments at Qumran, scholars have challenged Charles' theory and proposed various views of the influence of Qumran doctrines on the Testaments.<sup>69</sup> The problem of the origin of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs therefore is complicated by the possible influences from the Qumran editor(s) and the various difficulties concerning the sources of Qumran beliefs.<sup>70</sup> Aside from possible Qumran influences, it is not altogether clear that those passages of the Testaments closest to the New Testament are Christian or pre-Christian. Even Charles' theory allows for Christian insertions in a basically Jewish text. Today, there are

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66.) I Peter 2:12,15, Nestle.

67.) D.S. Russell, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, 200 B.C. -- A.D. 100, London, SCM, 1964, p. 50, presents a discussion of recent views.

68.) R.H. Charles, The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, London, Adam and Charles Black, 1908, p. liii.

69.) M. de Jonge, "Christian Influence in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs", Novum Testamentum, IV, (1960), pp. 182ff.

70.) Ibid., p. 183.

generally three positions represented by scholars: some still hold to Charles' theory, others see material in the Testaments more in line with Qumran and others believe that the Testaments are Christian documents.<sup>71</sup> On this account, one's general viewpoint determines how much Jewish material can be adduced from the Testaments.

The idea of doing good to receive God's approval are common

The evidence for the text of the Testament of Naphtali 8:4-6 being pre-Christian or Christian must finally be judged on the basis of the text itself.<sup>72</sup> (i.) Concerning Jewish origins, as distinct from Qumran sources, it is generally accepted that a Jewish Hebrew version of the Testaments contained the Testament of Naphtali. This is the view of Charles, whom most scholars follow today.<sup>73</sup> And even de Jonge, who assumes that a particular passage in the Testaments is Christian until proven otherwise,<sup>74</sup> concedes that there was "at least one Jewish stage" in the writings of the Testaments which contained Naphtali.<sup>75</sup> If such a Hebrew original was pre-Essene and pre-Christian, it is possible that Naphtali 8:4-6 had Jewish origins.<sup>76</sup> But Charles' "Late Hebrew Testament of Naphtali", which may go back

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71.) See Russell's discussion, op. cit., pp. 56f., for those who hold to Qumran and Christian beginnings.

72.) M. de Jonge, op. cit., pp. 187f. The broader question of the background to the Testaments may prejudice one's judgment on the background to the Testament of Naphtali 8:4-6. But I am not in a position to formulate an independent opinion of my own on this broader question.

73.) Russell, op. cit., p. 55.

74.) M. de Jonge, op. cit., p. 188.

75.) According to Russell, op. cit., p. 57, de Jonge dates the Testaments in a "post-Christian" period because they are Christian in their final form. But de Jonge's article in Novum Testamentum,

to an early Hebrew text, does not contain the Testament of Naphtali 8:4-6.<sup>77</sup> Consequently there is no textual evidence that the Testament of Naphtali 8:4-6 passage represents an early Hebrew text. On the other hand, this text contains some concepts which were familiar to Judaism. The contrast between doing good and doing evil and the idea of doing good to receive God's approval are frequent enough in the Psalms and Wisdom Literature to suggest that this much of the passage is Jewish. Even the idea of the Gentiles' redemption and praise of God was a characteristic belief in the post-exilic period.<sup>78</sup> However, there are no Jewish precedents for the concept of good works as a means of impressing the Gentiles, converting them or bringing them to praise God.<sup>79</sup> (ii.) Concerning the

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op. cit., pp. 185, n. 3, allows some Jewish beginnings.

76.) It is still possible to speak of Jewish origins (as distinct from Qumran sources) if Christians wrote the verses using Jewish material.

77.) Charles, Versions, pp. 239ff.

78.) Cf. Is. 2:2ff.; 25:6-8; 66:18ff.; I Enoch 10:21; Micah 4:1-3; Zech. 2:7-11; 8:20-23; Tobit 14:6ff. The idea of the Gentiles returning to God's temple, which is sometimes mentioned in these passages, is similar to the Testament of Benjamin 9:2. The redemption of the Gentiles "belongs to the very texture" of the Testaments (Charles, Testaments, pp. 210f.). Also compare Peter Ackroyd, Exile and Restoration, London, SCM, 1968, pp. 161, 251f.

79.) Johannes Thomas (Christoph Burchard, Jacob Jervell and Johannes Thomas, Studien zu den Testamenten der Zwölf Patriarchen, Berlin, Alfred Töpelmann, 1969, pp. 111ff.) considers the Testaments as possible Diaspora Literature in Egyptian Judaism, citing Naphtali 8:4 (p. 113) as evidence of the Jewish attitude towards the Gentiles in the Egyptian Diaspora. It is reasonable to assume that the Jews of the Egyptian Diaspora would have such an attitude towards Gentiles, which would be in line with propaganda purposes. But the lack of any parallels from Jewish propaganda tradition leaves the suggestion in question.



Qumran influence, the discovery of the fragments of the Testament of Naphtali at Qumran makes it possible that a fuller text, which may have contained the Testament of Naphtali 8:4-6, was possessed by the Qumran community. Material is still being brought to light, so any conclusions must be provisional. To this date there have been no Qumran fragments of the Testament of Naphtali 8:4-6,<sup>80.</sup> and consequently no textual evidence that the doing of good as a means of impressing the non-believers is a Qumran addition. Furthermore, it is unlikely that the Qumran community would take an interest in impressing the heathen with their good works in order to bring them to salvation.<sup>81.</sup>

(iii.) It is probable that the concept of good works impressing the heathen and causing them to praise God in the Testament of Naphtali 8:4-6 is Christian. First, the previous verses must be taken into consideration. Naphtali 8:2-3 is suspected to be influenced by Christian thought, which emphasizes Judah, the tribe from which Christ was born, as the tribe through which salvation shall come to Israel and the righteous gentiles.<sup>82.</sup> Verse four continues to explain how the gentiles are brought to praise God by the good works of the believers. It is conceivable that the Christians not only glorified Judah as the tribe through which salvation shall come, but also specified the means by which gentiles shall come to praise God. Secondly, the

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80. M. de Jonge, Testamenta, p. XI.

81.) K. Stendahl, "Hate, Non-retaliation and Love", HTR, LV, (1962), pp. 343ff., notes that non-retaliation in the Qumran literature has a different meaning than non-retaliation in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, which is closer to the haustafeln meaning of good works as non-retaliation; see pp. 350ff..

82.) Charles, Translation, p. 146; M. de Jonge, op. cit., p. 209.

concept of good works impressing the heathen and bringing them to praise God has parallels in the New Testament. In addition to I Peter 2:12,15, which is mentioned above, the words of Jesus in Matthew 5:16 repeat the idea:

οὕτως λαμψάτω τὸ φῶς ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅπως ἴδωσιν ὑμῶν τὰ καλὰ ἔργα καὶ δοξάσωσιν τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.<sup>83</sup>

These words of Jesus may have been the beginnings of the Christian instructions cited in the Testament of Naphtali 8:4-6 and I Peter 2:12,15. Therefore the lack of Jewish, or more specifically Qumran, parallels and the particular affinity of New Testament parallels to a concept of good works bringing the heathen to praise God in a text which is suspected of Christian interpolations suggests that this concept is a Christian reworking of Jewish material.<sup>84</sup>

This conclusion challenges the suggestion made by W.C. Van Unnik who argues that the Jewish idea of "good works" is not the concept behind the meaning of good works in I Peter 2:12,15.<sup>85</sup> According to Van Unnik, the "oriental" concept of "good works" is charity to-

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On the salvation of the gentiles in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs see Charles, op. cit., p. 211.

83.) Matthew 5:16 (Nestle).

84.) Other passages in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs teach that good may prompt repentance; cf. Testament of Benjamin 4-5; Testament of Gad 6-7. See Stendahl, op. cit., p. 350f.

85.) W.C. Van Unnik, "The Teaching of Good Works in I Peter", NTS, I, (Nov. 1954), pp. 92-110; "Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti",

wards the poor, and the "Greek and Roman " concept of "good works" is welfare on behalf of all men.<sup>86</sup> Van Unnik believes that the concept of "good works" or the "doing of good" in I Peter, and presumably in other haustafeln passages, reflects the concept of "good work" in Greek and Roman literature, as opposed to the "oriental" or Jewish concept of "good works", which refers to special acts of charity. He maintains that "good works" or the "doing of good" in I Peter specifies acts of welfare on behalf of all men. In agreement with Van Unnik, it is reasonable to conclude that the meaning of "good works" or the "doing of good" in I Peter is general acts of welfare on behalf of all men which are not restricted to acts of charity for the poor. "Good works" in haustafeln passages outside of I Peter also refer to general acts of welfare. On the other hand, a survey of *καλοποιέω*,<sup>87</sup> *ποιῶν ἀγαθόν*<sup>88</sup> and *ποιῶν καλόν*<sup>89</sup> in the Septuagint indicates that it is too categorical for Van Unnik to say that the Jewish concept of "good works" (which he classifies under the "oriental" category) is confined to acts of charity for the poor.<sup>90</sup> In the Psalms and Wisdom Literature "good works" or the

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JBL, LXXXIII, (March, 1964), p. 26.

86.) Van Unnik does not list evidence for this conclusion, but refers to Hendrick Bolkestein, Wohltätigkeit und Armenpflege im vorchristlichen Altertum (Utrecht, 1939), which is not available to me.

87.) Leviticus 5:4.

88.) Cf. the Septuagint passages of I Samuel 1:23; 3:18; 11:10; 14:36,40; 24:5; II Samuel 2:6; 10:12; II Kings 15:3; Ecclesiastes 7:20, where this phrase or an equivalent appears.

89.) Cf. the Septuagint passages of Deuteronomy 12:25,28; 13:19; 21:9; II Chronicles 14:2; Isaiah 1:17 and Tobit 2:7, where this phrase or an equivalent appears.

"doing of good" are generally meant as acts of kindness in accordance with God's will and in contrast to works of evil, which are opposed to God's will.<sup>91</sup> Van Unnik has not taken into account the social significance (of making an impression on society) and the religious significance (of receiving God's approval) of "good works" in I Peter (and other New Testament passages) which have precedence in the Proverbs.<sup>92</sup>

The importance of the instructional and motivational themes of the doing of good and making a favorable impression on society will be seen below as these themes occur within other duties of the haustafeln. At this point, it is important to recognize them as fundamental themes in the tradition which introduce the tradition and have Jewish origins.

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90.) "Good works" are often acts of charity in the New Testament (Titus 3:14; Acts 9:36; I Tim. 6:18; II Corin. 9:8f.; Acts 4:9; Luke 6:35). In some New Testament passages "good works" or the "doing of good" are general acts of kindness in the life of Jesus (John 10:32; Mark 3:4 and parallels; Acts 10:38) and by Christians (Matt. 5:16; Titus 2:7,14; Hebrews 10:24; Ephesians 2:10 and possibly II John 11). The New Testament frequently teaches that those who do good works will receive their reward (John 5:28f.; Romans 2:10; Galatians 6:9). I Peter also emphasizes the necessity for Christians to do good under hardships and sufferings, trusting that they will receive their reward from the Lord (cf. I Peter 2:18-25, the instructions for slaves, and 4:19, which is part of the general instructions.)

91.) For references to the Psalms see p. 188, n. 58. Ben Sira 12:1ff. may include works of charity, but not exclusively. Tobit 12:13 refers to the good deed of burying the dead. Proverbs 25:21f. speaks of a good deed in the stead of taking revenge by evil means. Cf. I Macc. 11:33, where the civic obedience of Jews is implied in their good deeds. Cf. also Jeremiah 4:22.

92.) The teachings of good works in the haustafeln passages of the pastorals (Titus 2:5 and I Timothy 6:1) are reminiscent of Isaiah 52:5.



## 2. The Instruction for Civic Obedience.

The instruction for civic obedience has been defined according to three instructional themes. The Christian citizen is (i.) to submit to the state, which punishes those who offend and praises those who do good, (ii.) to do good and (iii.) to honor all men. These instructions are not preceded by a nominative of address, because they are intended for all Christians. The dominant theme of the instructions is submission, with the doing of good and the honoring of all men as implications of submission.

Concerning the instructional theme of submission to the state, there is evidence that Judaism held two favorable attitudes towards the civic powers: the obedience to and prayer on behalf of the rulers. (a.) From the time of the exile to the first century of the Christian Era there were Jewish instructions for submission to the state. In Jeremiah 29:4ff. there is record of a letter sent by Jeremiah to the Babylonian exiles, some of whom were in opposition to the Chaldean government.<sup>93</sup> Jeremiah insists that the exiles establish themselves in the new land, accept the conditions of Babylon and plan for their children to live in the land:

οὕτως εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ τὴν  
ἀποικίαν, ἣν ἀπόμικσα ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ οἰκοδο-

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93.) John Skinner, Prophecy and Religion, Studies in the Life of Jeremiah, Cambridge, University Press, 1948, pp. 251, 287f.



μήσατε οἴκους καὶ κατοικήσατε καὶ φυτεύσατε  
 παραδείσους καὶ φάγετε τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτῶν καὶ  
 λάβετε γυναῖκας καὶ τεκνοποιήσατε υἱοὺς καὶ  
 θυγατέρας καὶ λάβετε τοῖς υἱοῖς ὑμῶν γυναῖκας  
 καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ὑμῶν ἀνδράσιν δότε καὶ πλη-  
 θύνεσθε καὶ μὴ σμικρυνθῆτε.

94.

The main point of the prophet's message is that the Jews should settle and not anticipate an immediate return to Palestine.<sup>95</sup> In addition, the Jews should make a conscious effort to seek the peace of the land: καὶ ζητήσατε εἰς εἰρήνην τῆς γῆς, εἰς ἣν ἀπόκλιστα ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖ.<sup>96</sup> There existed a variety of attitudes towards the occupying powers of Palestine before the Jewish revolt of 66-70 A.D.,<sup>97</sup> ranging from support of to opposition to foreign rule. Even during the eighty year period of independence, the rebellious Hasmoneans alienated the Pharisees and the religious leaders.<sup>98</sup> The general view which emerged from this period before the revolt and prevailed after the fall of Jerusalem (70 A.D.) was that the Jews should

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94.) This is the Septuagint text of Jeremiah 36:4-6, Rahlfs. Cf. the Hebrew text in Jeremiah 29:4-6.

95.) Verse 8 warns against the false prophets who promise that Yahweh will take their people back to the homeland soon. This may have been ground for some of the exiles to oppose the government or not to assume responsibilities as permanent inhabitants. It is possible that the Christian church was in parallel circumstances to those who were in Babylonian exile as Jews. Some within the church may have advocated civic irresponsibility or even opposition to the authorities on the ground that Jesus' return was at hand. Cf. M. Dibelius, *Kollosser*, p. 36; Weidinger, *Die Haustafeln*, pp. 5f.

96.) Jeremiah 36:7, Rahlfs.

97.) Werner Föster, *Palestinian Judaism in New Testament Times*, trans. Gordon E. Harris, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1964, pp. 11-136.

98.) Moore, *Judaism*, II, p. 113.

be submissive to the governing powers. If I. Abrahams is correct,<sup>99</sup> a respect for civic authority grew out of the (above) passage in Jeremiah and became law in Rabbinic Judaism: "The law of the country is as sacred and binding as God's law."<sup>100</sup> The Jews were only to disobey the civic authorities if those authorities demanded acts which were in conflict with Jewish laws.<sup>101</sup> The martyrdom of seven brothers and their mother in II Maccabees 7:1ff. is an example to the Jews of such loyalty to the Torah which brings heroic suffering and subjection to punishment. Other teachings in the Aboth 1:10 indicate a suspicion towards the government,<sup>102</sup> but the warning against the purposes of government officials does not nullify civic obedience or give ground for rebellion. (b.) Judaism also taught prayer on behalf of the civic authorities. Jeremiah's letter to the Babylonian exiles also instructs: καὶ προσεύξασθε περὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς κύριον, ὅτι ἐν εἰρήνῃ αὐτῆς ἔσται εἰρήνη ὑμῖν.<sup>103</sup> Baruch 1:11-12, Ezra

99.) I. Abrahams, Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, First Series, Cambridge, University Press, 1917, pp. 62ff. Cf. Moore, Judaism, II, p. 115.

100.) Cf. M. Mielziner, Introduction to the Talmud, London, Funk & Wagnalls, 1903, pp. 276f., and C.G. Montefiore & H. Loewe (ed.), A Rabbinic Anthology, London, Macmillan, 1938, p. 669.

101.) Moore, Judaism, II, pp. 113f., 116; C.G. Montefiore, Rabbinic Literature and the Gospel Teachings, London, Macmillan, 1930, p. 311. A. Cohen, Proverbs, Hindead, Soncino Press, 1945, p. 163.

102.) R.T. Herford, Pirke Aboth, New York, Jewish Institute of Religion, 1930, p. 30, notes that Jewish commentators generally explain "that the government will only take notice of a man in order to use him for their own purposes." Cf. C. Taylor, Sayings of the Jewish Fathers, Cambridge, University Press, 1877, p. 33.

103.) Jeremiah 36:7b, Rahlfs.

6:10 and Aboth 3:2 (Rabbi Hanina)<sup>104.</sup> also instruct Jews to pray on behalf of rulers. Therefore, both the cooperation with the civic authorities and prayer on their behalf are present in the teachings of Judaism.

The traditional haustafeln teachings for civic obedience essentially agree with these favorable attitudes towards the civic authorities, but the haustafeln tradition shows no specific verbal or thematic parallels to the passages mentioned above. The haustafeln instruct the Christians to submit to and to respect the civic authorities, who punish those who do evil and praise those who do good. Jeremiah 29:7, Baruch 1:11-12, Ezra 6:10 and Aboth 3:2 all command Jews to pray for the peace and good of the kingdom in order that the Jews might benefit from the welfare and stability of the kingdom. Neither the emphasis on prayer nor the benefits received from the prosperity of the kingdom are mentioned in the haustafeln tradition. Only the haustafeln-like instruction for prayer on behalf of civic authorities in I Timothy 2:1 shows some resemblance to Jeremiah 29:7.

A much closer parallel to the haustafeln tradition is found in the Septuagint version of Proverbs 24:21f.:

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104.) R.T. Herford, "Pirke Aboth", Charles, II, p. 698. Moore, op. cit., II, pp. 114f., believes that this rabbi probably recognizes opposition to the authorities, as Jeremiah did, but did not live to see the open revolt against Rome in 68 A.D. Moore notes that sacrifices for foreign rulers were a custom of the Jews which was doubtless accompanied by prayers for their welfare.

φοβοῦ τὸν θεόν, υἱέ, καὶ βασιλέα  
καὶ μηθετέρῳ αὐτῶν ἀπειθήσης·  
ἐξαίφνης γὰρ τείσσονται τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς,  
τὰς δὲ τιμωρίας ἀμφοτέρων τίς γνώσεται;  
105.

According to the prevailing opinion of most recent scholarship, the Hebrew proverb is pre-exilic.<sup>106</sup> There is no reason to believe that this particular proverb is an exception, belonging to the post-exilic period and reflecting Hellenistic ideas. The association of civic obedience with loyalty to Yahweh is intelligible in the pre-exilic period, especially when we consider the derivation of the Davidic king's rule from Yahweh.<sup>107</sup> It may also be noted that the Septuagint version probably does not attempt to render the difficult Hebrew by bringing in Hellenistic additions.<sup>108</sup> There

105.) Proverbs 24:21f., Rahlfs. Cf. Ecclesiastes 8:2-8.

106.) W.F. Albright, "Some Canaanite-Phoenician Sources of Hebrew Wisdom", Wisdom in Israel and the Ancient Near East, Festschrift for H.H. Rowley, Martin Noth and D. Winton Thomas, editors, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1955, pp. 4ff.; Derek Kidner, The Proverbs, London, Tyndale, 1964, pp. 25f.; McKane, op. cit., pp. 5,7.

107.) McKane, op. cit., p. 406.

108.) Verse 21b in the Hebrew reads: לֹא תִּשְׁתָּחֵד עִם־שֹׂנְאֵי־יְהוָה, which translates: "with those who change do not associate". The Septuagint does not support this Hebrew text. Verse 21b of the Septuagint reads: καὶ μηθετέρῳ αὐτῶν ἀπειθήσης, which translates: "and disobey neither of them" and presupposes the Hebrew text לֹא תִּשְׁתָּחֵד עִם־שֹׂנְאֵי־יְהוָה. The two differences between the MT and the text implied in the Septuagint (שֹׂנְאֵי replaced by שֹׂנְאֵי, and לֹא replaced by וְלֹא) suggest that the Septuagint is a witness to another Hebrew manuscript, but not that the Septuagint is inserting Hellenistic ideas where it lacks understanding of the Hebrew manuscript. It has been recognized that the Septuagint reflects some Hellenistic ideas in the additions it makes to the Hebrew reading (McKane, op. cit., pp. 33ff.). G. Gerleman, "The Septuagint Proverbs as a Hellenistic Document", OtS,



are three points where the Septuagint passage is parallel to the haustafeln traditional instructions for civic obedience. (i.) Both the haustafeln tradition and the Proverb command submission to the civic authorities and God. Civic obedience in the haustafeln tradition is not merely a social obligation, but an act of obedience to God. Paul argues this point explicitly in Romans 13:1-7. The writer of I Peter teaches the "doing of good", which is a form of civic obedience, as the will of God, because it brings to silence the ignorance of foolish men. Titus speaks of submission to civic authorities (in addition to a general consideration for all men) as an emulation of God's love.<sup>109</sup> It may be concluded from these texts that the haustafeln tradition taught submission to the civic authorities as a submission to God and his purposes. By comparison, Proverbs 24:21 instructs Jews to "fear the Lord and the king" and not to "rebel against either one of them".<sup>110</sup> The Proverb may recognize that "the Davidic king's rule derives directly from Yahweh, so that loyalty to him and respect for his person are religious duties."<sup>111</sup> Therefore, both the haustafeln tradition and Pro-

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VIII, (1950), p. 27, concludes that the Septuagint has a moderate attitude to Hellenistic culture and ideas in contrast to the advanced stages in Philo. Verses 22a-22e in the Septuagint may have been influenced by Hellenistic ideas, because it is an obvious addition to an end of a section.

109.) Titus 3:1-8 teaches that Christians should show respect and honor to all men because God loved the Christians when they were once like pagans.

110.) The presence of αὐτῶν (vs. 21b) and ἀμφοτέρων (vs. 22b) refer to both God and the king (Crawford H. Toy, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Proverbs, New York, Scribner, 1899, p. 449.) The Septuagint does not introduce a third party, "those



verbs 24:21 consider obedience to rulers to be a religious obligation or submission to God.<sup>112</sup> (ii.) Both the haustafeln tradition and Proverbs 24:21 command a "fear" for rulers and God. This command in the haustafeln is particularly evident in Romans 13:1-7 and I Peter 2:13-17. Paul writes:

οἱ γὰρ ἄρχοντες οὐκ εἰσὶν φόβος τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἔργῳ ἀλλὰ  
τῷ κακῷ. θέλεις δὲ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν; τὸ  
ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖ, καὶ ἕξεις ἔπαινον ἐξ αὐτῆς· θεοῦ γὰρ  
διάκονός ἐστιν σοὶ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν. ἐὰν δὲ τὸ κακὸν  
ποιῇς, φοβοῦ· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὴ τὴν μάχαιραν φορεῖ· θεοῦ  
γὰρ διάκονός ἐστιν ἑκδικεῖ εἰς ὀργὴν τῷ τὸ κακὸν  
πράσσοντι. 113.

He reasons that those who do evil should have a fear of punishment, and that those who do good should have approval from God and the authorities (cf. Proverbs 1:33). Paul's argument is actually against Christians having a fear for the consequences of their actions. If the Christians are doing good, they have no reason to fear civic punishment. On the other hand, Christians should have a "fear" or "re-

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who are given to change" or "noblemen" in verse 21b, as does the Hebrew.

111.) McKane, op. cit., p. 406.

112.) Ehrhard Kamlah, "ὑποτάσσεσθαι in den neutestamentlichen 'Haustafeln'", Verborum Veritas, Festschrift für Gustav Stählin, Wuppertal, R. Brockhaus, 1970, pp. 237ff., argues that the use of submission in the haustafeln is derived from the meaning of submission in Judaism, a humility before God. Kamlah has recognized the haustafeln as religious instruction demanding submission to God in all the household duties.

113.) Romans 13:3f., Nestle.

spect" towards rulers<sup>114.</sup> if verse 3 contains a rhetorical question to be answered positively. Those who have a "respect" for the authorities will do good. As a summary at the end of the haustafeln instructions for civic obedience, I Peter 2:17 closely follows the wording of Proverbs 24:21:

I Peter 2:17

... τὸν θεὸν φοβεῖσθε, τὸν  
βασιλέα τιμᾶτε.

115.

Proverbs 24:21

φοβοῦ τὸν θεόν, υἱέ, καὶ βασιλέα  
καὶ μηθετέρῳ αὐτῶν ἀπειθήσης.

116.

As in the haustafeln tradition, Proverbs 24:21 teaches that the "godless" person receives punishment from both God and the king, and implies that a "fear" (or "respect") towards God and the king keeps one from doing evil and receiving punishment. It is likely that the haustafeln tradition commanded fear of the king and God as reflected in I Peter 2:17. (iii.) Both the haustafeln tradition and Proverbs 24:21f. contain a prudential concern: by fearing God and the king one escapes the punishment of them both. The haustafeln tradition mentions the restraining function of the state, which is to punish those who do evil. On this basis Paul argues that one is to do good in order to escape the punishment of God, as mentioned above. I Peter refers to the doing of good as a means of receiving the approval of the Gentiles in civic matters. It seems likely that this prudential concern was in the haustafeln tradition for civic obedience. Proverbs 24:21f. does not mention the doing of good as

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114.) A.&G., p. 871.

115.) I Peter 2:17b, Nestle.

a means of escaping God's punishment against those who do evil. The proverb implies that through fearing God and the king one will not fall into the camp of the "ungodly" who are to experience swift and sure punishment. This is the pragmatic reason for having a fear of God and the king.<sup>117</sup> Both the haustafeln tradition and Proverbs 24:21f. have this practical concern. Therefore, in the light of all three points it appears as though Proverbs 24:21f. influenced the wording and the thought of the haustafeln traditional instructions for civic obedience or both the Proverb and the tradition reflect a common theme in Judaism.

Of course the instructional theme of "doing good" in the instructions of civic obedience is the same theme mentioned in the general instructions.<sup>118</sup> It has been argued in this thesis that the instructional theme of doing good holds a religious and social significance: the reward for doing good and the change brought about in one's adversary by the doing of good. Paul and the writer of I Peter refer to the rewards which will be received from the civic authorities for the doing of good. Such rewards are ultimately from God, for whom the civic authorities are agents. I Peter 2:15 brings out the social significance of the doing of good in the instructions for civic obedience. It seems probable that the theme of doing good

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116.) Proverbs 24:21, Rahlfs.

117.) The punishment of the "evildoer" in the Proverbs is imminent and inevitable: cf. 14:32; 21:7; 24:16,20 among other passages. The one approved of God need not dread punishment (1:33).

in the instructions for civic obedience has the same significance and Jewish background as the theme of doing good in the general instructions.

Although the instructional theme of "doing good" is not mentioned in Proverbs 24:21f., the theme may be an implication of Proverbs 24:21f. As mentioned above, Proverbs 24:21f. begins with the admonition to fear God and the king, by which one will not be one of the "ungodly" and fall to destruction. In general the Proverbs divide mankind into two opposite groups: those who are "wise" and follow God-given wisdom, and those who are "foolish" and justly deserve retribution. The terms "ungodly" (ἀσεβεῖς) and "evildoers" (κακοποιοί) are synonymous names for the "foolish" who are opposed to God's ways and all that is good. Proverbs 14:32a mentions the "evil" of the "ungodly" person which is his destruction: ἐν κακίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀπωσθήσεται.<sup>119</sup> Prior to Proverbs 24:21f., Proverbs 24:19 cautions against the envy of the "evildoers" who meet their destruction:

μὴ χαῖρε ἐπὶ κακοποιοῖς  
μηδὲ ζήλου ἁμαρτῶλους·  
οὐ γὰρ μὴ γένηται ἔκγονα πονηρῶν,

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118.) G. Gerleman, "The Septuagint Proverbs as a Hellenistic Document", p. 18.

119.) Proverbs 14:32a, Rahlfs. Gerleman, op. cit., p. 20, notes that "folly" and the "fool" are rendered κακία and κακός, which is a summary of all that is evil. Cf. Proverbs 16:12, where kings are opposed to evil committed by the "evildoers" in their kingdom.

λαμπτήρ δὲ ἀσεβῶν σβεσθήσεται.

120.

"Doing good" is therefore a logical antithesis to being "ungodly" or an "evil doer" and an implication of "fearing the Lord and the king." Although the doing of good is not mentioned in Proverbs 24:21f., the teaching of Proverbs implies the doing of good. It seems reasonable to conclude that the instructional theme of doing good in the instructions for civic obedience is the same theme mentioned in the general instructions and is implied in the teachings of Proverbs 24:21f., which may be a more specific source of this haustafeln instruction for civic obedience.

It has been observed that the doing of good may signify special praise-worthy deeds which are recognized by the civic authorities. Selwyn suspects that the doing of good refers to the meritorious service "as contained in the Honours List", and notes that it was the duty of the state to promote good.<sup>121</sup> Van Unnik cites some classical texts<sup>122</sup> which mention the task of the civic authorities in educating people and bringing them εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν either by punishment or by giving distinctions for good service.<sup>123</sup> He confesses that it is difficult to determine how this classical use

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120.) Proverbs 24:19, Rahlfs.

121.) Selwyn, op. cit., p. 173.

122.) Diodorus Siculus, Universal History, XV,1,i; VI, 46,i.

123.) W.C. Van Unnik, "A Classical Parallel to I Peter ii.14 and 20", NTS, II, (Feb. 1956), pp. 198-202.



of good works is linked to the New Testament,<sup>124</sup> but concludes that the terminology used by the author of I Peter is based on Greek sources: ἀπαρτάνω meaning to make a mistake and ἀγαθοποιέω meaning to do special praiseworthy deeds.<sup>125</sup> I Peter 2:13-17 may refer to special acts of civic service which were rewarded by civic authorities. The positive as well as the restraining role of the government is mentioned here and in Romans 13:1-7. However, it is unlikely that the verb ἀγαθοποιέω was a technical term limited to this significance, because there is no evidence for the verb being used with this sense outside of these passages. The verb is not present in Classical Greek or Josephus<sup>126</sup> and not used with this meaning in the Septuagint.<sup>127</sup> Other New Testament passages do not use the verb with this particular meaning. The haustafeln teachings in I Peter and the haustafeln tradition are more concerned with the results of the doing of good (the rewards and the change in others) than the sphere in which the action takes place.<sup>128</sup> As in other haustafeln passages, the doing of good in the traditional teachings for civic obedience is developed with motifs which suggest Jewish origins.

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124.) Ibid., p. 201.

125.) Ibid., p. 201. The evidence presented in this article would support Van Unnik's thesis in a previous article (supra p. 198), which argues that the background of the doing of good in I Peter is Greek rather than Jewish.

126.) W. Grundmann, "ἀγαθοποιέω" , TWNT, e.t., I, p. 17.

127.) H. & R., I, pp. 1f.

128.) Cf. Selwyn, op. cit., p. 178, who refers to J.B. Lightfoot's comment on I Clement 2:2. The passage in I Clement is not an haustafeln passage, but it mentions the doing of good. See J.B. Lightfoot and J.R. Harmer, editors, The Apostolic Fathers, London, Mac-

The instructional theme of honoring all men is not developed with motifs which could suggest its derivation from one specific source.<sup>129</sup> The instructional theme of doing good, which is also a general ethical principle, is developed in the haustafeln tradition with Jewish motives. The instructional theme of honoring all men is merely mentioned at the end of the haustafeln passages as a kind of summary statement of the Christian attitude towards men of a pagan society. It is not developed to the extent that the doing of good is developed. The theme of showing honor to all men may be found in Stoic writings to some extent. Zeno's concept of brotherhood and equality throughout the world and the familiar concept of a Stoic being a citizen of the known world would be commensurate with the haustafeln saying.<sup>130</sup> The Stoic household codes sometimes mention consideration of all men and the welcome of a stranger (e.g., supra pp. 115,123). The Septuagint conspicuously lacks any phrase such as πάντας τιμῆσατε . We are probably dealing with a common theme in the Hellenistic world which does not have particular Jewish origins.

It has been noted that the motives accompanying these instructions for civic obedience are added by the individual authors. The general traditional motive of making an impression on a pagan society serves as a motive in I Peter 2:13-17 (cf. vs. 15). Paul relies on

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millan, 1898, pp. 6,58.

129.) Supra pp. 49f.

130.) For comments on Zeno see W. Tarn and G.T. Griffith, Hellenistic Civilization, London, Edward Arnold, 1952, p. 80. Seneca argues that "nature" compels him to do acts of kindness to all

the argument that the Christian owes his obedience to the authorities because the authorities are servants of God. This idea is not explicit in I Peter 2:13-17 and therefore not suspected to be integral to the tradition.<sup>131</sup> However, if one were to assign it to the tradition, rather than designate it as strictly a Pauline addition to the tradition in Romans 13:1-7, it would be another feature of the tradition with Jewish origins. It is not altogether clear that Proverbs 24:21f. instructs one to honor God by the honoring of the ruler. However, it does associate patriotism with honor of God, as mentioned above, and probably reflects the Hebrew notion of kingship being derived from Yahweh. The Proverbs mention the divine origin of kingly rule (20:28 and possibly 8:15), the king as an instrument of divine purposes (21:1; 16:12-15 and possibly 14:35) and the king as an administrator of justice (16:10, 20:2,8,26; 29:14). These precedents in Proverbs suggest that the haustafeln notion of the king being invested with divine authority reflects some Jewish heritage.

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mankind; de Vita Beata, 24,3.

<sup>131</sup>.) Supra pp. 51f. Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era, II, pp. 113f., and Strack-Billerbeck, III, pp. 303-305, mention several rabbinic teachings relevant to Romans 13:1-7. Concerning civic authority derived from God (Romans 13:1b), S-B states that this is a belief which had scarcely any disagreement in the Old Synagogue. Concerning respect for higher authorities, rabbis have taught obedience to the civic powers with reference to the obedience of Moses, Joseph, Jacob and others. Wisdom 6:1-3 mentions civic power coming from God. John 19:10f. records Jesus recognizing Pilate's authority as coming from God. This would seemingly be a common Jewish notion at the time haustafeln were formulated in the early church.

The following points are a summary of the Jewish background to the traditional haustafeln instructions for civic obedience. (i.) The New Testament church would not have to look beyond Palestinian Judaism for precedents of submission to the state, despite the rebellious movements and rebellions against occupational powers. (ii.) More specifically, that haustafeln instruction for civic obedience may have been influenced by Proverbs 24:21f. (in the Septuagint) or both the Proverb and the haustafeln tradition may represent a theme in Judaism. Both the Proverb and the tradition teach submission to the state as a religious duty, admonish "fear" for rulers who administer the judgment of God, and contain a prudential concern: by fearing God and the king one will escape divine punishment. (iii.) The instructional theme for the doing of good is the same one in the general instructions which has Jewish origins. (iv.) The general motive of making a favorable impression on society by the doing of good is used in I Peter. In Romans 13:1-7 Paul uses the argument that Christians ought to submit to the authorities because these authorities are the instruments of God's justice. If this motive used by Paul is in the tradition, it is probably another motive derived from Jewish sources.

### 3. The Instructions for Wives.

The traditional haustafeln instruction for wives has been defined in the chapter on the New Testament haustafeln tradition.<sup>132.</sup>

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<sup>132.</sup>) Supra pp. 55ff.



The main instruction is for wives to be submissive to their husbands, a command represented in the tradition by the participial imperative ὑποτασσόμεναι.<sup>133</sup> The tradition continues to admonish wives in the virtues of silence and the doing of good. The instruction for wives probably drew a contrast between the adornment of gold and garments and the adornment of the person and these virtues. To these traditional instructions various New Testament writers added motives which sometimes refer to the Old Testament. The author of I Peter teaches wives to emulate the holy women who once hoped in God and to become the "children of Sarah" (I Peter 3:5-6). The author of I Timothy cites the Creation and Fall (2:11-15) in order to establish the woman's inferior status to man. Thus there is some reference to the Old Testament in the representative passages of the tradition, but the tradition itself contains no motive derived from the Old Testament. The traditional instructions probably read: "Wives, be submissive to your husbands. Let your adornment be a quiet person and good works, not gold and garments."<sup>134</sup>

The instruction for submission of wives to husbands cannot be seen as distinctively Jewish in the New Testament period. Instructions for submission and submissive behavior might be expected as the norm for the wife's relationship to her husband and the general relationship of women to men in the New Testament world. It

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133.) Supra p. 73.

134.) Supra pp. 63, 73, 104.



was generally recognized that a wife occupied an inferior position to her husband.<sup>135</sup> It can be assumed without detailed investigation that the haustafeln are following the accepted custom of the day at this point and not reflecting particular Jewish teachings.

The Jewish influence on the haustafeln instructions for wives is evident in the virtues with which the wife is to adorn herself.<sup>136</sup> The virtues of silence and the doing of good are probably derived from Jewish practice and teachings, where both virtues have precedence.<sup>137</sup> It has been noted in this thesis<sup>138</sup> that it was a rule for women to be silent in the church meetings, a practice probably carried over from the Jewish synagogue.<sup>139</sup> This Christian rule, which appears in I Corinthians 14:34 and I Timothy 2:11f., was a means of women acknowledging the authority of men and a form of

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135.) A. Oepke, "Γυνή", TWNT, e.t., I, pp. 777ff.

136.) The analogy of women adorning themselves with virtues is similar to the analogy of Christians generally putting on virtues as clothing. The virtues mentioned in the haustafeln may have been a special list of virtues pertaining to women and supplementing the more general lists of virtues for all Christians. The virtues for women in the haustafeln are not found in the catalogues of virtues for all Christians (cf. Colossians 3:12ff and Selwyn, op. cit., p. 411.)

137.) I Peter 3:2 and Titus 2:5 also mention "chastity" as a virtue of a woman's submission. "ἁγνός" does not mean chaste in the Septuagint, where it generally has the meaning of cultic holiness (H. & R. I, p. 16). The exception is in IV Maccabees 18:7ff., where the word refers to a woman's purity. Liddell and Scott list chastity as one of the meanings of the word in Greek literature. We are probably dealing with a common virtue for women in Hellenistic culture. Although the word may have been in the tradition as a virtue for the women, it would be difficult to argue that it had particular Jewish origins. However, Judaism considered a woman's chastity as an important virtue (cf. Moore, Judaism, II, pp. 267ff.)

submitting to them. As a rule in the church, which coexisted with the haustafeln tradition, it probably influenced the traditional teachings for wives. If this is the case, the haustafeln teaching for the silence of women in the home is basically derived from the practice of women being silent in the synagogue. The early church may have found scriptural sanction for the silence of women in the Creation and Fall narratives, where woman is made from man and man is made to rule over woman.<sup>140</sup> Other Jewish precedents may be found in the Wisdom Literature, which praises the silent woman and condemns the talkative woman.<sup>141</sup> (ii.) What has already been said about the Jewish background for the doing of good in the previous discussion concerning the haustafeln general instructions and the instructions for civic obedience applies to the doing of good on the part of wives.<sup>142</sup> Both the haustafeln passages which mention the doing of good by wives interpret this behavior in terms of the Jewish background discussed above. Again, the social and religious significance of good works are mentioned in the haustafeln instructions for wives. The social significance is mentioned in both Titus 2:3ff. and I Peter 3:1-2. According to Titus 2:3,

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138.) Supra pp. 60ff.

139.) J. Stanley Glen, Pastoral Problems in First Corinthians, London, Epworth Press, 1965, p. 133.

140.) I Timothy 2:11f. directly refers to the Creation and Fall narratives. I Corinthians 14:34 likely refers to the Torah. I Corinthians 11:3ff. mentions the order of Creation as grounds for man's authority over woman.

141.) Proverbs 9:13; 21:9; 25:24; 27:15; Ben Sira 26:14; cf. 36:23 ("humility and kindness mark her speech").

older women are to teach younger women that which is good, with the intention of favorably impressing those who oppose the faith.<sup>143.</sup>

The concept of good deeds keeping the word of God from blasphemy reflects the same social significance of good deeds taught in Titus 2:7f., which instructs Titus to be a model of good deeds so that an adversary may be put to shame having nothing evil to say of Christians:<sup>144.</sup>

περὶ πάντα, σεαυτὸν παρεχόμενος τύπον καλῶν  
ἔργων, ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ ἀφθορίαν, σεμνότητα,  
λόγον ὑγιῆ ἀκατάγνωστον, ἵνα ὁ ἐξ ἐναντίας  
ἐντραπῇ μηδὲν ἔχων λέγειν περὶ ἡμῶν φαῦλον.  
145.

I Peter 3:1-2 mentions the "winning" of a pagan husband who observes the reverent and chaste behavior of his Christian wife. Here good works not only impress but convert non-Christians. This passage reflects the same social significance of good works on adversaries. The religious significance of doing good (receiving a reward from the Lord) is also evident in the instructions for wives in I Peter. The doing of good is explicitly mentioned in I Peter 3: 6

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142.) Supra pp. 186ff., 208f.

143.) The discrediting of the word of God in 2:5 may be an allusion to Isaiah 52:5.

144.) Cf. I Peter 3:16, a general instruction after the close of the haustafeln section.

145.) Titus 2:7f., Nestle.

in connection with not fearing:

ὥς Σάρρα ὑπήκουσεν τῷ Ἀβραάμ, κύριον  
αὐτὸν καλοῦσα, ἧς ἐγενήθητε τέκνα ἀγαθο-  
ποιοῦσαι καὶ μὴ φοβούμεναι μηδεμίαν  
πτόησιν.

146.

The verse is an echo of Proverbs 3:25 (Septuagint version) which mentions the destruction of the "ungodly" which is a destruction not to be feared by the "righteous":

καὶ οὐ φοβηθήσῃ πτόησιν ἐπελθοῦσαν  
οὐδὲ ὀρμᾶς ἀσεβῶν ἐπερχομένης.

147.

Generally speaking, the Proverbs teach that the righteous (those who do good) will receive their reward and that those who do evil will meet their destruction. The author of I Peter chooses to stress the confidence of the righteous, who hope for their reward and have no fear. In the light of the interpretation of good works in these two haustafeln passages and the meaning of good works in other haustafeln passages, it seems likely that the traditional instruction of good works for wives has Jewish origins. Therefore, the particular theological importance of silence on the part of women and the doing of good in Jewish Wisdom Literature leads one to the conclusion that Jewish practices and teachings were influential on the haustafeln teachings for wives.<sup>148.</sup>

146.) I Peter 3:6, Nestle. Cf. Selwyn, op. cit., p. 185.

147.) Proverbs 3:25, Rahlfs.

#### 4. The Instructions for Husbands.

The previous chapter on the definition of the New Testament haustafeln tradition defined the haustafeln instruction for husbands as a command for husbands to love their wives.<sup>149</sup> This reciprocal duty in the marital relationship is a terse command without accompanying motives in the tradition: "Husbands, love your wives". The instruction only occurs in the Colossians-Ephesians haustafeln, where it is developed according to the themes of each letter.

There are no close verbal parallels in the Septuagint and other Jewish texts which might suggest that the instruction was borrowed from Jewish sources. Even the Wisdom Literature has little to say about the responsibilities of the husband to the wife. Proverbs 5:15-20 stands as a sole example, in which the husband is admonished to be faithful to his wife. Strack-Billerbeck<sup>150</sup> mention that the instruction for husbands to love their wives is often found in Rabbinic literature. There are some affinities between the development of the instruction in Ephesians and a Rabbinic argument for the husband to love his wife as himself. According to this reasoning of the Rabbis, all Jews are commanded to love their neighbors as themselves.

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148.) The contrast between the outward and inward adornment is probably a common idiom of the day: cf. Ben Sira 7:19; 26:13-28.

149.) Supra pp. 74ff.

150.) S-B, III, p. 610.



Consequently, a husband is to love his wife ("his neighbor") as himself. Similarly, Ephesians 5:28 teaches that whoever loves his wife, loves himself:

οὕτως ὀφείλουσιν καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἀγαπᾶν  
τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας ὡς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώ-  
ματα. ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἑ-  
αυτόν ἀγαπᾷ. 151.

This development is likely due to the hand of the author of Ephesians and not the tradition itself, because it is only mentioned in Ephesians.<sup>152</sup> Therefore, the traditional instruction for husbands does not seem to be influenced by any particular Jewish text or this Rabbinic argument.<sup>153</sup>

#### 5. The Instructions for Children.

The traditional instruction for children is "Children, obey your parents", to which no traditional motives are added.<sup>154</sup> In contrast to the instructions for other subordinates in the haustafeln tradition (wives and slaves), this instruction does not use the par-

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151.) Ephesians 5:28, Nestle.

152.) If the idea is in the tradition, it is only represented by the Ephesians text, and is probably derived from Jewish sources. The idea of "both flesh made one" (cf. Genesis 2:24) may be the origin of the idea just as much as the commandment to love one's neighbor as oneself. Another Jewish theme in the Ephesians passage is the sinfulness of the woman, who is purified by the man's love, cf. Leviticus 12. See Glen, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

153.) The patriarchal structure of the Jewish home is evident in the instructions for the head of the household in Ben Sira 33:19ff.,

icipial imperative ὑποτασσόμενοι (--αι ) but the imperative ὑπακούετε .<sup>155</sup> This imperative provides a close link to the Wisdom Literature.

Before discussing the influence of the Wisdom Literature on the traditional instructions, something should be said about the possibility of the fifth commandment of the decalogue influencing the tradition. Of course the importance of the fifth commandment in Ancient Israel and Judaism would lead one to suspect that the fifth commandment shaped any Christian instruction for children. However, despite the importance of the fifth commandment in Judaism,<sup>156</sup> evidence indicates that it did not have an important influence on the formation of the haustafeln tradition. First, if the fifth commandment shaped the traditional haustafeln instruction for children, there would probably be a close verbal agreement or even repetition of the commandment itself. This is not the case. The decalogue commands one "to honor" his father and mother, and the haus-

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where a man is given prudent advice but not a command to love his wife.

154.) Supra pp. 79ff.

155.) See Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 90-97, for a discussion on why the participle imperative was used in the Tannaitic literature, supra p. 16. He suggests that the participle imperative was used only for customary rules which were authoritative but less than revealed law. The Torah was set out with imperatives. This may be the reason why the instruction for children, which is closely aligned to the fifth commandment of the decalogue, uses the imperative, and the instructions for slaves and wives, which may have been considered more customary than revealed law, use a participle.

156.) The reverence for parents in the decalogue (Exodus 20:12;

tafeln tradition commands children "to be obedient" to their parents. Secondly, the haustafeln tradition does not assign the instruction for children the priority it has in the decalogue. If the decalogue influenced the tradition, the command for children would likely have had a prominent place in the haustafeln code. On the contrary, the haustafeln tradition does not call special attention to the duties of children to their parents by giving the instruction a priority in the haustafeln code.<sup>157</sup> The instruction for children occurs with other duties for subordinates in an order of descending importance: wives, children and slaves. Thirdly, the Ephesians passage (6:1ff.) explains that the haustafeln instruction agrees with the decalogue as though the haustafeln material is extraneous to the decalogue:

Τὰ τέκνα, ὑπακούετε τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὑμῶν

ἐν κυρίῳ· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν δίκαιον. τίμα

τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα, ἥτις ἐστὶν

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Leviticus 19:3) was carried over into the Wisdom Literature (Proverbs 6:20-22 among other passages) and reinforced in Judaism by the Tobit legend (D. Wilhelm Bousset, Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter, Berlin, Reuther & Reichard, 1903, p. 402.) Compare Moore's comments on the importance of the fifth commandment in Judaism (Judaism, II, pp. 131ff.). Cf. S-B, II, 705-717; and C.G. Montefiore, Gospel Teachings, pp. 249ff. for rabbinical literature.

157.) Generally speaking, it may have been believed in the New Testament times that the first commands in a list were the most important. Jesus speaks of the first and great command in Matthew 22:38. Ephesians 6:2 stresses that the command for children is the "first with a promise". Stoic writers are careful to point out which obligations come first in the household responsibilities. One might assume that if one obligation conflicted with another, the one with the highest priority would have to be honored.

ἐντολὴ πρώτη ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ, ἵνα εὖ σοι

γένηται καὶ ἔσῃ μακροχρόνιος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. 158.

Therefore, the fifth commandment of the decalogue corresponds with and supports the haustafeln instruction for children (cf. Ephesians 6:1ff.) but does not seem to influence the wording and the importance of the instruction for children in the haustafeln tradition.

On the other hand, the haustafeln imperative for filial obedience resembles the imperative for children (or pupils) addressed in the Wisdom Literature.<sup>159</sup> In the Proverbs (and other Wisdom Literature) children or pupils are commanded "to hear" (ἀκούετε, ἀκούσατε) the instructions of the father or religious teacher.<sup>160</sup> This conventional address to the learner of Wisdom approximates the haustafeln command to children (ὑπακούετε) and gives the same meaning.<sup>161</sup> In one Septuagint passage where the corresponding Hebrew is obscure<sup>162</sup>

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158.) Ephesians 6:1-3, Nestle.

159.) Outside the Wisdom Literature the imperative "to hear" or "to obey" is not used in the Septuagint as a direct address to children. Deuteronomy 21:15ff. mentions the penalty for a son who is not obeying (οὐχ ὑπακούων) the voice of his father or mother.

160.) Proverbs 1:8; 4:1; 7:24; 8:33; 19:20, 27; 22:17; 23:19, 22; Ben Sira 3:1; 6:23; 16:24.

161.) Ὑπακούετε frequently translates ὡς in the Septuagint, H. & R., II, 1405; III, p. 269. Oesterley, Proverbs, p. 6, mentions that "to hear" means to obey.

162.) There is no verb in the Hebrew text of Proverbs 13:1. Various commentators have made emendations of the MT in order to supply a verb (see McKane, op. cit., p. 453). The Septuagint's reading of ὑπήκοος does not deal adequately with the presence of וְיָשָׁב in the MT: וְיָשָׁב וְיָשָׁב וְיָשָׁב. Thus, the Septuagint is giving a rather

the Septuagint version of Proverbs 13:1 describes a "wise son" as one who is obedient to his father in contrast to a son who does not listen:

υἱὸς πανοῦργος ὑπήκοος πατρί,  
υἱὸς δὲ ἀνήκοος ἐν ἀπωλείᾳ.  
163.

This Proverb's contrast between the "wise son" and the son who refuses to listen emphasizes the willingness of a child to be attentive and teachable, which is stressed throughout the Proverbs (cf. Proverbs 1-9). This appears to be the same emphasis in the haustafeln tradition and the reason why the tradition does not use the usual participle imperative ὑποτασσόμενοι, but the imperative ὑπακούετε. If the Proverbs were generally used for Christian instruction in the early Christian home and church, it is all the more probable that the imperative ὑπακούετε is adapted from the proverbial imperative ἀκούετε, which had become a familiar command for the instruction of children in the early Christian home and church.

#### 6. The Instructions for Fathers.

The traditional haustafeln duty corresponding to filial obedience is the instruction for fathers not to be harsh with their children. Only this negative command appears to be the traditional instruction. The Colossians-Ephesians haustafeln are the only evidence

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free rendering of the Hebrew in Greek and does not help restore the Hebrew text.

163.) Proverbs 13:1, Rahlfs.



for the traditional instruction, which is developed in both letters to a limited extent.<sup>164.</sup>

It is significant that the instruction is directed towards the father of the household rather than both parents. If the patriarchal structure of the Christian home placed on the father the responsibility of teaching children in matters of faith and practice (which was the case in the Jewish home), the instruction may have particular importance for the father as a religious teacher.<sup>165.</sup> This significance of the instruction for fathers would correspond to the command for children to be teachable by parents. Acknowledging the teaching role of the father, the author of Ephesians adds to the tradition:...ἐκτρέφετε αὐτὰ ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ νοουθεσίᾳ κυρίου, which could stand as an instruction to any Jewish father.<sup>166.</sup> Therefore, the prototype of domestic Jewish education of the children may have caused this reciprocal duty to be directed to the Christian father as a teacher.

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164.) Supra pp. 81ff.

165.) According to Jewish law, the father was to teach the Torah to his children. See Ronald deVaux, Ancient Israel, Its Life and Institutions, trans., John McHugh, London, Darton, Longman and Todd, 1968, pp. 48ff.; Moore, op. cit., II, p. 127.

166.) Παιδεία or παιδεία (discipline or instruction) is frequently mentioned in the Proverbs. See Proverbs 1:2,7,8,29; 4:1,13; 5:12 and 3:11 among other references. Ἐκτρέφετε (cf. Proverbs 23:24) is not generally used in the Septuagint for translating אָמַן which is found in Proverbs 22:6, a verse omitted in the Septuagint version. Thus it is unlikely that the author of Ephesians alludes to Proverbs 22:6 in particular.

The appeal to deal considerately with children is not contrasted to the discipline of children in Proverbs. If the author of Ephesians correctly interprets the traditional haustafeln teaching, raising children in the "discipline" and "instruction" of the Lord implies a warmth and affection towards a child and leaves no place for harsh treatment. Despite the emphasis on rigorous training of children in the Proverbs, it still may be said that the discipline administered by fathers according to the emphasis of the Proverbs includes a warmth and affection towards the children.<sup>167.</sup> Even where the use of a rod is advised in Proverbs 23:13, one may detect the respect for the youth's decision and the delight of the father whose son chooses discipline.<sup>168.</sup> Generally speaking, the Proverbs mention parental firmness and considerateness together in the discipline of children. However, there is not sufficient evidence to argue that the haustafeln tradition is reflecting one aspect of this training or discipline (the considerateness). It can only be concluded that the attitude towards the training of children in the Proverbs supports the considerate attitude of the father taught by the haustafeln tradition.<sup>169.</sup>

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167.) Kidner, op. cit., p. 152.

168.) Ibid., p. 152. A note of personal appeal on the part of the father is characteristic of the whole section of Proverbs 23:12-16 and Proverbs 1-9.

169.) It is difficult to determine the exact wording of the haustafeln tradition from the Colossians-Ephesians haustafeln. But there are no verbal parallels between the haustafeln passages and the Septuagint. The closest suggestion of a parallel would be B. Gemser's emendation of Proverbs 23:13 (𐤒 𐤓 𐤕 𐤓 changed to 𐤓 𐤕 𐤓) which reads: "do not allow yourself to give way to anger" (B. Gemser, op.cit

## 7. The Instruction and Motive for Slaves.

The traditional duty for slaves contains both instructional and motivational themes. The instruction bids slaves to be submissive to their masters by the doing of good and the thoroughness of service in every task. This instruction subsumes under the main imperative for submission both the instructional themes of the doing of good and being thorough.<sup>170</sup> Added to the instruction is the motive: fear the Lord, knowing that he will judge you. The haustafeln duty for slaves probably read: "Slaves, be submissive to your masters by the doing of good and being thorough in your service. Fear the Lord, knowing that you will be judged by the Lord."<sup>171</sup>

As in the previous instructions, the doing of good is an instructional theme derived from the Wisdom Literature. The theme has been discussed above in regard to the general instructions, instructions for civic obedience and Christian wives. It is likely that the theme had a prominent place in the tradition, particularly in the instructions for subordinates.<sup>172</sup> In the previous instructions it has been noted that the doing of good has both a religious and social significance which can be found in the Proverbs. In the haustafeln instructions for slaves only the religious significance is evident and the social significance is lacking. Ephesians 6:8 mentions that

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Sprüche Salomos, p. 60.) But this change in the MT is unnecessary.

170.) This has been called the "universal theme" in this thesis.

171.) Supra pp. 82ff.

the slave will receive a reward for his proper submission and his acts of goodness.<sup>173.</sup> I Peter holds out the hope that the slave will be rewarded and approved by God for his acts of goodness and suffering for righteousness' sake. The author of I Peter develops this religious aspect of the doing of good which is found in Psalm 34.<sup>174.</sup> He bids the slave to serve under the harsh treatment of an unjust master with patience and faithfulness, trusting that all righteous judgment will come from the Lord. For the righteous man who dares to do good there will be God's approval and reward. For the evil man who is unrighteous there will be destruction and punishment. No matter what the circumstances it is the righteous slave who will do good and trust in the judgment of God. This long-suffering doing of good under unjust treatment emulates the way of Christ who suffered unto death and trusted all judgment to God. The connection of the life and death of Christ with the idea of trusting God's judgment and doing good under unjust suffering provides the central motive for slaves. The concept of doing good and trusting God's judgment is derived from the Psalms and Wisdom Literature. As mentioned above,

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172.) The theme does not appear in the instruction for children.

173.) Supra p. 85. I Timothy 6:2 does not develop the meaning of the doing of good works on the part of slaves, but only mentions that the service is performed all the better.

174.) The concept of doing good throughout the letter of I Peter is closely aligned to the meaning of the doing of good in Psalm 34: 14-16, which is quoted in I Peter 3:10-12.

175.) A. Kirkpatrick, The Psalms, Cambridge, University Press, 1906, p. 173. The analogy of the suffering Christ for the slave may be interpreted to mean that the slave's sufferings for the doing of good will have an effect on others just as the sufferings of Jesus brought men to salvation.



I Peter quotes Psalm 34:14-16 at the end of the haustafeln section and relies on the idea of doing good in that Psalm. In the Psalm the righteous man is the one who does not fail and fall to doing evil but continues to do good even in his suffering with the hope that God will not forget the righteous, cf. Psalm 37:27-28. This trust in the judgment and deliverance of God while suffering is characteristic of the ideal righteous man in the Wisdom Literature.<sup>175</sup> Therefore, the doing of good is again a theme developed along the motives which are found in Psalm 34 and the Wisdom Literature.

The instructional themes of thoroughness and fear of the Lord are reminiscent of the instruction for slaves in Aboth 1:3 which may have influenced the traditional haustafeln instructions for slaves. As in the haustafeln tradition, Aboth 1:3 teaches that slaves should not serve with a view to pleasing men but should fear the Lord.<sup>176</sup> It is possible that the New Testament church turned to this Jewish teaching in the Aboth because it was the only well-known instruction in Judaism which directly pertained to the kind of service the servant should render to his master. The same kind of instruction for the slave's service cannot be found in the Septuagint. Generally speaking, wherever the subject of the Jewish slavery is mentioned in the Septuagint, it is concerned with the master's obligation to the

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<sup>176</sup>.) Supra pp. 91ff.: the traditional haustafeln instructions for slaves.



slave rather than the slave's responsibility to the master.<sup>177.</sup>

Any instruction for slaves would have had to be found outside the biblical literature. Aboth 1:3 is a comparable passage in the Rabbinical sayings: "... be not like slaves who serve the master with a view to receiving a present; but be like slaves who serve the master not with a view to receiving a present."<sup>178.</sup> It is conceivable that the New Testament haustafeln were influenced by this well-known saying of the rabbis. First, as in the haustafeln tradition, it implies a thoroughness of service which is not just performed in the presence of the master, as though only giving eye--service (cf. Ephesians 6:6 and Colossians 3:22). Secondly, the mention of a reward in Aboth 1:3 is similar to the admonition to slaves to be mindful of the judgment and the reward which will come from the Lord. The haustafeln tradition probably emphasized the reward which is to come after this life of bondage to an earthly master. Aboth 1:3 has sometimes been interpreted by the rabbis to mean that the slave will receive his reward "in the time to come", but this has been a matter of debate in Judaism of the New Testament period.<sup>179.</sup>

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177.) The Pentateuchal slavery legislation is placed next to the decalogue (Exodus 21:2-11). Also see Leviticus 25:39-54; Deuteronomy 15:12-18; cf. Jeremiah 34:8-24. In the Wisdom Literature see Proverbs 29:19,21; Ben Sira 4:30; 7:20f.; 33:24ff. and 42:5c.

178.) R.T. Herford, Charles, II, p. 691. The saying is attributed to Antigonus of Socho who received it from "Simeon the Just", who could either be Simeon Son of Oniar (c. 280 B.C.) or Simeon II, high priest about 219-196 B.C. There is no reason to believe that this Rabbinic saying was influenced by Hellenism.

179.) Charles Taylor, Sayings of the Jewish Fathers, Cambridge, University Press, 1877, pp. 126ff.

Of the original and traditional versions of Aboth 1:3, the traditional version is probably the influential one on the haustafeln tradition, because it mentions that the slave should seek his reward in heaven.<sup>180</sup> David Flusser argues that there may have been a "growing sensitivity within the Judaism of the Second Commonwealth" concerning the divine justice as manifested in the world. This "sensitivity", which was expressed in Aboth 1:3, was an uneasiness over the "time-honored central doctrine of serving God for a compensatory consideration". The original saying may have meant that the slave would not receive a reward for his faithful service even though he would be a righteous man. If this was the original meaning, the original saying would not have been parallel to the haustafeln tradition. The parallel to the haustafeln saying occurs where Jewish rabbis traditionally interpreted Aboth 1:3 to mean that the slave will receive his reward in heaven. Thirdly, there is a similarity between the "fear of the Lord" on the part of the slave in the haustafeln tradition and the conclusion to the saying in Jewish tradition, "And let the fear of heaven be upon you."<sup>181</sup> The haustafeln tradition contrasts "fearing the Lord" with the "pleasing of men". Again, the traditional version of the instruction for slaves in Aboth 1:3 seems to imply this same contrast by its concluding phrase and to be closer to the haustafeln tradition than the original version.

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180.) David Flusser, "A New Sensitivity in Judaism and the Christian Message", HTR, LXI, (1968), p. 109.

181.) R.T. Herford, Pirke Aboth, p. 23; Taylor, op. cit., pp. 27, 126ff.; and Flusser, op. cit., p. 110, speak of this phrase as a later addition.

It could be argued apart from Aboth 1:3 that the motivational phrase "fear of the Lord" in the haustafeln tradition is a common Jewish motive or principle for ethics.<sup>182</sup> The parallels between the haustafeln tradition and the Aboth 1:3 passage, as modified by tradition, suggest that this particular passage may have influenced the haustafeln traditional instructions for slaves.

#### 8. The Instruction and Motive for Masters.

The traditional haustafeln instruction for masters is accompanied by a motive identical with the motive for slaves. The instruction teaches masters to be just and fair with slaves, because masters also have a Lord in heaven who is their judge. Colossians 4:1 has been taken in this thesis as closest to the haustafeln tradition:<sup>183</sup>

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182.) In the Pentateuch the phrase often stands in relation to ethical deeds (Leviticus 19:14, 32; 25: 17, 36, 43) and means following God's laws (Deuteronomy 6:2, 13, 24; 10:12, 20; 13:4; 17:13, 19; 28:58; 31:12f.) The Psalms mention its ethical significance (111:1 and 128:1 in the Septuagint). Also see references to fearing God in the Psalms (24:12; 33:10; 65:16; 102:13, 17; 113:19, 21; 117:4; 134:20 in the Septuagint) and the Wisdom Literature (Proverbs 3:7; 14:2; 24:21; Ecclesiastes 8:12f.; 12:13; Ben Sira 10:19; 15:1; 21:6, 15.) See Flusser, op. cit., pp. 110f., for a discussion on the "fear of Heaven" in Rabbinic literature.

David Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism, London, Athlone Press, 1956, pp. 273f., argues that the social legislation in the Old Testament had an influence on the Hebrew understanding of the Exodus, and that God's redemption of his people involved a change in masters. It is interesting that the haustafeln passages for slaves bring out the theme of a change in masters, which may reflect the Jewish notion of redemption, cf. op. cit., p. 282.

183.) Supra pp. 92ff.

Οἱ κύριοι, τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὴν ἰσότητα  
 τοῖς δούλοις παρέχεσθε, εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ  
 ὑμεῖς ἔχετε κύριον ἐν οὐρανῷ.  
 184.

Both the fair and just treatment of slaves and the haustafeln motive for masters have precedent in the Pentateuch and Wisdom Literature. (i.) Regarding the instructional theme for masters, it is not difficult to find the same emphasis on justice towards slaves in the Septuagint. As mentioned above, the pentateuchal slavery legislation dwells on the master's responsibility towards the slave, and, for the most part, protects the slave.<sup>185</sup> The pentateuchal legislation makes it clear that the master does not rule over the (Hebrew or Gentile) slave with absolute power.<sup>186</sup> In the Wisdom Literature, Proverbs 30:10 recommends kindness towards a slave. Ben Sira 30:33ff. prudently advises discipline and hard work for a slave, but cautions a master not to go beyond his bounds.<sup>187</sup> Even the harsher treatment is therefore to be administered with restraint and a sense of justice for the slave. (ii.) The haustafeln motive for masters reminds them of their limitations under the sovereignty of God. In the Old Testament and Judaism the master's just treatment of a slave was a religious duty, and his adherence to the Torah

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184.) Colossians 4:1, Nestle.

185.) DeVaux, op. cit., p. 85.

186.) Cf. Exodus 21:1-11; Leviticus 25:43; Deuteronomy 23:15f.

187.) Moore, Judaism, II, pp. 135ff.



limited his power over a slave. As in the haustafeln, Leviticus 25:43 teaches a master not to be harsh with a slave, and to fear the Lord:

οὐ κατατενεῖς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ μόχθῳ καὶ φοβη-  
θήσῃ κύριον τὸν θεόν σου.

188.

Turning to the Jewish legend of Tobit, we find a general ethical counsel which summarizes the moral teachings of the entire book (Tobit 4:3-22). Tobit reminds his son: "Do not hold over till the next day the wages of any man who works for you, but pay him at once; and if you serve God you will receive payment." The passage does not speak of slaves, but hired servants. Still the onus is on the master to be just and fair towards a hired servant. As a master, Tobias is to regard himself as a servant of God who will receive his reward from the Lord for his just treatment of servants. A similar saying appears in Aboth 2:20, which describes a faithful master as one who anticipates receiving a reward in the future life:<sup>189</sup>. "... and the master of thy [the slave's] work is faithful who will pay thee the hire of thy labor; and know that the giving of reward for the righteous is for the time to come."<sup>190</sup>. It cannot be argued that any of these passages had a direct influence on the haustafeln tradition. They only serve to illustrate the emphasis in the Pentateuch and

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188.) Leviticus 25:43, Rahlfs.

189.) Herford, Charles, II, p. 698; Taylor, op. cit., p. 55.

190.) Herford's translation, Charles, II, p. 698. This was spoken by Rabbi Tarphon. Danby places him in the "Third Generation" of Rabbis (A.D. c. 120-140), Mishnah, p. 799. Moore, op. cit., p. 268, places him about A.D. 100. The saying may represent an earlier tradition which existed before these dates.



Judaism on the master's fair and just treatment of a slave which is due to the submission to God. This is essentially the same motivation for a master as in the haustafeln tradition. It may be concluded that the New Testament church did not need to look beyond its Septuagint scriptures and Jewish traditions to find the teachings which are incorporated in the haustafeln tradition regarding the master's treatment of slaves.

### C. Conclusions.

The following points summarize the findings of this chapter. The formal elements of the haustafeln tradition do not resemble the forms of ethics in the Septuagint. The haustafeln tradition lists a sequence of duties for subordinates which are followed by reciprocal duties for superiors. On the contrary, Jewish domestic duties generally dwell on the responsibilities of the superior, the head of the household (father, husband and master). The structure of the haustafeln duties is distinguished from Jewish domestic ethics by the use of the nominative of address for each class of people. David Daube has argued that both the nominative of address and the participial imperative are Hebraisms which point to a Hebrew code from which the haustafeln in the New Testament were translated. The nominative of address and the participial imperative may be Hebraisms, but are not conclusive evidence for Daube's "translation theory". The influence of Palestinian Judaism is seen in the actual content of the haustafeln tradition, the instructions and motives. Here there is evidence

that various strands of Jewish material have been woven into a form of codifying household ethics which is actually foreign to the literature of Palestinian Judaism. (1.) The general instructions and motive for all Christians have precedents in the Psalms and Wisdom Literature. The instruction for the doing of good has both a religious and social significance which are found in the Psalms and Proverbs. The general motive for Christians to make a favorable impression on society fits in with the instructional theme of doing good. This motive seems to be a reworking of material in the Proverbs, where good works bring about penitence in one's adversary. Christians probably developed this idea into the concept that good works will bring Gentiles to praise God. Both the instructional theme of good works and the general motive for impressing society are fundamental to the haustafeln tradition and derived from Jewish sources. (2.) Concerning the Jewish background to the traditional haustafeln instructions for civic obedience, the New Testament church would have found precedents for submission to the state in Judaism, despite the rebellious movements against occupational powers. More specifically, Proverbs 24:21f. (in the Septuagint), which admonishes fear for the rulers and contains a prudent concern for the escape of divine punishment, may have influenced the tradition or may have represented a theme in Judaism reflected also in the haustafeln tradition. The doing of good and the general motive also occur with these instructions in the haustafeln texts. (3.) Although the instruction for the submission of wives cannot be claimed as a distinctively Jewish teaching, the virtues of silence and the doing of good (as

acts of submission) probably came from Jewish practice and teaching. Jewish women acknowledged the authority of men by practicing silence in the synagogue. This practice was adopted in the church also and considered an act of submission in the Christian home. The doing of good in this duty is the same theme which arises from the Psalms and Proverbs. (4.) The instruction for husbands seems void of any particular Jewish influence. (5.) There is no noticeable influence from the fifth commandment of the decalogue on the instruction for children. The imperative "to obey" parents seems to be developed from the common imperative, ἀκούετε, in the Wisdom Literature, especially if the Proverbs were used for Christian instruction in the home. (6.) It can only be concluded that the attitude towards the training of children in Proverbs agrees with the considerateness of the father in the haustafeln tradition. However, there is no suggestion that the haustafeln instruction for fathers was borrowed from Jewish sources. (7.) The instructions for slaves contain two instructional themes of Jewish background: the doing of good and the thoroughness of service. The doing of good is another manifestation of the theme studied in the general instructions, the instructions for civic obedience and Christian wives. The particular affinities between the haustafeln instruction for slaves and the Aboth 1:3 passage, as modified by tradition, suggests that this well-known saying had some influence on the haustafeln tradition. In both the Aboth 1:3 and the haustafeln tradition slaves are instructed to be thorough in work -- without a view to pleasing their earthly masters alone -- and to be fearful of the Lord. (8.) The master's instruction to be fair and

just with slaves has Jewish precedents. Again, there is no suggestion of a direct borrowing from Jewish writings. However, the New Testament church did not need to look beyond the Septuagint for the emphasis incorporated in the haustafeln tradition. The haustafeln emphasis on the master's accountability to a master in heaven is found in the Old Testament and Judaism. At this point the haustafeln tradition is probably reflecting a Jewish theme for the particular social relationship of master to slave.

The following points are an evaluation of the evidence for Palestinian Jewish background to the haustafeln tradition.

#### The form of the haustafeln.

The haustafeln are mainly a classification of various Jewish teachings with Christian elaborations.<sup>191</sup> From the beginning of this chapter it has been acknowledged that there are no Jewish precedents containing a list of ethics in the form of the haustafeln. The parallels between the haustafeln and Jewish texts are concerned with the content of the haustafeln, the instructions and motives, where there are more affinities with Jewish ethics than with the ethics contained in the Greek household codes. A number of different parallels are cited from the Septuagint and the Aboth. The early church may have made a conscious effort to reformulate various Jewish ethics into a popular Hellenistic code for the convenience of pagan converts, who would have been familiar with the household codes. Or, when confronted with the practical problems of living as slaves, masters, citizens, husbands and wives etc., the early church may have



most naturally turned to its Jewish heritage for instructions and motives and evolved a scheme of ethics with which Greek converts were familiar. Whatever the reason, the strands of Jewish material seem to be woven into the haustafeln pattern from a wide selection of Jewish sources dealing with the same subject matter of the Greek household ethics, i.e. behavior as a citizen, husband, wife, slave, etc. These Jewish teachings were adopted, developed and augmented by the Christians for the teaching needs of the early church. This kind of modification is obvious from various representations of the tradition in the New Testament letters in which tradition is developed for the needs of the particular congregations. Therefore, although the form of the haustafeln tradition is foreign to Palestinian Jewish ethics, the actual content is closely aligned to various Palestinian Jewish teachings.

### The imperatives of the haustafeln.

Philip Carrington and Ehrhard Kamlah have made attempts to trace the origins of the predominant haustafeln imperative "to be submissive". It has been seen from the above study of Greek household codes that the imperative "to be submissive" does not occur in these codes.<sup>192.</sup> From a survey of the Septuagint and Intertestamental Literature it may be concluded that the imperative "to be submissive" is not frequent in Jewish ethics of this nature.<sup>193.</sup> This absence of any precedents in Greek or Jewish sources has led scholars to theorize on its

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<sup>191.</sup>) Kirk, Vision, pp. 121f., views the alleged haustafeln precedents in Hellenistic Judaism (Philo and Pseudo-Phocylides) to be developed from Palestinian Judaism (cf. Ben Sira).



derivation. Philip Carrington has observed that the word ὑποτάσσειν is important to the Christological concept of "all things being submissive to Christ" and that this concept is the "background" for the main imperative of the haustafeln. According to Carrington, the social relationships of the haustafeln are one element of the cosmic order, which is in subjection to the Lordship of Christ. From this "background" the New Testament church derived a submissive ethic for the haustafeln:

We may put to one side, first of all, a use of the word which is typical of dogmatic controversy in Paul and Hebrews and has to do with a sacred cosmic order; it is based on Psalm viii,6 and cx,1; it occurs once in I Peter (iii,22); it belongs to a specific theological argument, and is in the nature of a quotation from the Old Testament. As I Clement shows, however, this use of the word forms the real background for its use in our six occurrences (in the haustafeln) and parallels in Titus and I Cor. xvi,16; the sacred social order is part of the cosmic.

194.

Carrington does not develop this view any further. However, from what he says, it is difficult to determine whether this is actually the "background" for the use of the term "to be submissive" in the haustafeln. No author representing the haustafeln tradition

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192.) Supra pp. 128f. For submission to God cf. Epictetus 3,24,65 and 4,12,11.

193.) The Septuagint contains a wide usage of ὑποτάσσειν but not in any ethical lists. (For its use in papyri see J.H. Moulton and G. Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament, London, Hodder and Stoughton, MCMLII, p. 660, who note that the word is common in papyri as meaning "appended" to a document.) (i.) Some participial forms denote those who are submissive to rulers or those presenting goods (merchants) sometimes as an act of submission; cf. I Kings 10:15; II Ch. 9:14; Es. 3:13; 8:12; III Macc. 1:17. (ii.) An active form of the verb is sometimes used for the act of submitting to a king; cf. Dan. 6:14; Ecc. 4:7; (iii.) submitting to God; cf. Ps.36:7; 61:2,6; II Macc. 9:12; Ecc. 3:18; 7:17; (iv.) submitting to Jewish customs; cf. II Macc. 13:23; (v.) submitting to foes and evil; cf. III Macc. 2:13; (vi.) and submitting to the saints in Daniel 7:27. (vii.)

in the New Testament uses this theological rationale as a motive for a subordinate to be submissive.<sup>195</sup> Carrington's theory needs further development if it is to be convincing, because it does not deal adequately with the imperative "to be submissive" actually being derived from the Christological concept of all things being submissive to Christ. In a more recent publication on the haustafeln Ehrhard Kamlah has argued that the Jewish sense of humility is the background from which the traditional haustafeln imperative "to be submissive" was derived.<sup>196</sup> Kamlah notes that in several haustafeln passages submission actually means a submission to God, e.g. Romans 13:1-7, and a humility towards others, two ideas which are connected in the Jewish sense of humility. According to Kamlah, this Jewish sense of humility is a fundamental attitude in the Christian's relationship to God and a prominent motif in early Christian paraenesis. The haustafeln command this humility in social relationships and use the imperative "to be submissive" because of its close association with the Jewish concept of humility: to be submissive to God is to be humble towards others. Perhaps the Jewish concept of

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Twice it refers to the building of foundations or substructure; cf. Haggai 2:18, II Macc. 4:12. Other miscellaneous meanings are (viii.) establishment of a ruler or general over people or armies, (ix.) and the description of humility; cf. Ben Sira 12:11 and 13:8. (x.) The most frequent usage is in the Psalms and Wisdom Literature. In these passages the Lord is the subject of the verb. He is the one who subjects people and lands to himself and Israel; cf. I Ch. 22:18; (in the Septuagint) Ps. 17:48; 46:4; 59:8; 107:9; 143:2; Wisdom 8:14; 18:22; Dan. 11:37; Ben Sira 7:11. (xi.) An important occurrence for New Testament Christology (Carrington, op. cit., p. 50) mentions the Lord subjecting all creation to man, Psalm 8:6.

194.) Carrington, op. cit., p. 50. 195.) It may only be implied in Romans 13:1-7.

humility complies with the submission being taught in the haustafeln tradition, but Kamlah's argument lacks convincing evidence for a close verbal association between "to be submissive" and "to be humble" in the haustafeln tradition.<sup>197</sup> One would expect humility to be explicitly taught as a fundamental theme of the tradition if the Jewish concept of humility is the source from which the main imperative of the tradition was derived.

It is not necessary that ὑποτάσσεσθαι was used in the haustafeln tradition because the word had a particular association with some Jewish or Christian theological or ethical concept. The word itself does not show any particular theological or ethical content in the Septuagint or the New Testament which would give it special meaning in the haustafeln tradition. It was probably used because it was an appropriate imperative for expressing the Christian subordinate's action: the Christian subordinate should practice the doing of good in all social relationships. This thesis has attempted to demonstrate that the doing of good is a fundamental motif in the haustafeln instructions (especially for subordinates) and that it is developed along Jewish lines as a kind of submission. The whole idea of submission in the haustafeln tradition is best understood by this instructional theme to do good. Submission and the doing of

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196.) Supra pp. 17ff.

197.) I Peter 5:5 is the only passage which makes this close association among so-called haustafeln passages: cf. Romans 12:16b.

good are closely aligned in the haustafeln passages. In other words, doing good is a form of submission which is to be practiced under all circumstances. The command "to be submissive" takes on particular meaning in the haustafeln tradition as it is brought into relationship with the instructional theme of doing good and other instructional themes as outlined above in the various duties. However, the imperative is best understood in relationship to the Jewish concept of doing good and the Christian re-working of this concept in the haustafeln tradition. In this sense it is understood against a Jewish background.

The other main imperative of the tradition appears to be a development from Jewish Wisdom Literature. The imperative for children is not "to be submissive" but "to be obedient", which is probably a Christian adaptation of a familiar address in the Wisdom Literature, ἀκούετε , especially if the Proverbs were used for Christian instruction in the early church.

The derivation of the imperatives for superiors in the reciprocal instructions for husbands, fathers and masters is less precise. Husbands are told to love their wives, a command which does not suggest any particular Jewish precedent. The command for the fathers to be considerate with their children may emphasize the considerateness found in the Jewish father's responsibility for the education of the children in the home. The fair and just treatment of the master to the slave is also reminiscent of the emphasis on



the just treatment to be given slaves in the Old Testament instructions on slavery, which is usually the emphasis where slavery is mentioned. In these reciprocal duties there is not a strong verbal connection with particular instructions in Jewish literature.

### The motives of the haustafeln.

The two traditional motives probably have Jewish origins. (i.) The general motive for Christians to make a favorable impression on a gentile world has been discussed as a general motive closely connected with the doing of good. It must be remembered that the motive appears with different instructions and is generally associated with the haustafeln tradition. It has been suggested in this chapter that the motive arises from the Jewish concept of doing good in response to evil. The discussion of Proverbs 25:21f. has played a central role in the locating of the Jewish view of good works having a positive effect on one's adversaries. It should be noted that the rabbis had a great deal to say about Proverbs 25:21f., but that they did not look upon good works as a means of converting the adversary to Judaism.<sup>198</sup> The concept of good works bringing about a change in one's adversaries is found developed in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. This study has particularly focused on the Testament of Naphtali 8:4-6, which shows some close parallels to I Peter 2:11f., although other passages in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs teach the same influence of good works. Whether these passages are

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198.) Stendahl, op. cit., pp. 347f.



Christian or authentically Jewish, they probably stem from the Jewish idea of good works bringing a change in one's adversaries, which is found in the Proverbs. (ii.) The second motive, for slaves and masters to fear the Lord, particularly resembles the final phrase in the version of the Aboth 1:3 which admonishes slaves to fear the Lord. It is possible that this instruction of the Aboth influenced the haustafeln instruction and motive for slaves. Other Jewish instructions caution the master to be fair towards slaves as they fear the Lord. But aside from these sources, this motive, which is commonly found in the ethics of the Wisdom Literature, may be adopted from Judaism as a familiar Jewish motive and incorporated into the haustafeln tradition. A third alternative is possible: the motive to fear the Lord may have come into the tradition as a Jewish development of the doing of good. In the haustafeln traditional instructions for slaves the fear of the Lord specifically means that the slave will trust all judgment to God. This is particularly developed in I Peter, where the slave is to follow Christ, "who, when reviled, did not revile in return; when suffering, did not threaten; but he trusted to him who judges justly." The slave is to continue to suffer under the unjust treatment by doing good and not taking up the cause of revenge. Here the tradition (and especially I Peter) is close to the Jewish association of non-retaliation (or the doing of good) and the deference of all vengeance to God's eternal judgment. Doing good is a means of trusting in the final judgment of God ( and even increasing that judgment against the ones who oppose the faith. ) <sup>199</sup>. If the idea of deferring all vengeance

to the final judgment of God by the doing of good is behind this motive for slaves (and masters --?), it is possible to view the two traditional motives (to make a favorable impression on the gentile world and to fear the Lord) as two developments of the fundamental theme of doing good according to Jewish precedents: the doing of good is both a means of changing adversaries and trusting in God's judgment.

Therefore, although the formal elements of the haustafeln were not developed according to the forms of ethics typically found in Palestinian Judaism, much of the content of the haustafeln tradition was influenced by the Septuagint and Rabbinic sayings. Both the imperatives and the motives probably came from Jewish sources. From the evidence set forth in this chapter it may be concluded that the Septuagint --especially Proverbs -- and Rabbinic Judaism were important sources for the development of the haustafeln tradition, a fact which has been too often neglected by haustafeln studies.

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199.) Stendahl, op. cit., pp. 343ff., sees this meaning behind Paul's use of Proverbs 25:21f. in Romans 12, and sets forth the evidence for this meaning of non-retaliation in Qumran and Rabbinic sources.

## VI. THE MEANING OF SUBMISSION IN THE HAUSTAFELN

Having defined the haustafeln tradition and traced its possible origins, this thesis considers in this chapter what the "submissive ethic" of the haustafeln tradition meant to the early church. The "submissive ethic" of the haustafeln tradition may be understood in two ways: the broader sense, which pertains to all Christians, and the restrictive sense, which pertains to subordinates in the household and in society. Concerning the broader sense, it has been recognized<sup>1</sup> that submission in the New Testament haustafeln sometimes means more than the mere act of being submissive as a subordinate to a superior. It may have the meaning of being humble before another whether that other person is a superior or not. The general instruction of Ephesians 5:21, "ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐν φόβῳ Χριστοῦ", contains this meaning of submission, whereby all Christians are instructed to be humble towards one another. For Christians who are subordinates this means that they will practically submit themselves to their superiors if they are to heed this instruction. But for Christians who are superiors themselves this instruction lays upon them the responsibility of being humble, considerate, kind and forgiving towards their subordinates. Of course, those who are subordinates are expected to express this same attitude of humility towards their superiors. In this sense the more inclusive meaning of submission has an application to all Christians **no matter** what their

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1.) Kamlah, op. cit., pp. 238ff.

position in the home and in society. The restrictive meaning of submission applies to those who are actually in a subordinate position and commands them to submit themselves to the recognized authorities, the civic powers, husbands, and masters. Of course, this submission implies a humility on the part of the subordinate, but it goes farther than this by commanding the subordinates to actually be subservient to their superiors with acts of goodness and service. In the haustafeln tradition this command to be submissive is usually reserved for those who are already in a position of subordination as adults. Children are excluded from the restrictive sense of submission, as though they are in a different category.<sup>2</sup> It is this second and more restrictive meaning of submission which is the concern of this chapter.

At least three points may be made concerning this restrictive meaning of submission in the haustafeln tradition. Each of the following points will be expanded below as something of a preface for understanding what the "submissive ethic" may mean for the church today. (i.) Submission meant non-retaliation. (ii.) Submission did not mean that the subordinates were to be passive towards the people under whom they served. Submission was a positive and creative means of influencing non-Christians. (iii.) Submission was a means of com-

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2.) One should not make too much of a difference between the meanings of ὑποτασσόμενοι and ὑπακούετε, because ὑπακούετε is used for both slaves and children in the Colossians-Ephesians haustafeln. For the instruction for children see supra pp. 224f.

7 Cf. Leviticus 19:18a., where the law is given to love one's neighbor as oneself.

binning the social obligations of the day with an active and positive Christian witness. Each of these three points are considered below in the light of the background of the haustafeln, the context of the imperative to be submissive in the tradition itself, and the development of the tradition by the individual authors.

#### A. Submission as Non-retaliation.

Vengeance is prohibited in the Old Testament for the same reason mentioned by Paul in the general instructions of Romans 12:14-21. In this passage Paul quotes the first part of Deuteronomy 32:33.<sup>3</sup> which stresses the fact that the righteous should leave all vengeance to the Lord.<sup>4</sup> The same reason for not taking vengeance is given in Proverbs 20:22, where the righteous man has no need to take the law into his own hands in an attempt to bring righteousness to his offenders. He can rely on the Lord to bring vengeance to evil doers. A passage in Jewish literature, Ben Sira 28:1-7, takes up the same reason for not repaying evil for evil: the Lord will bring judgment on all those who do vengeance. In these passages non-retaliation seems to be based on the theological presupposition that the Lord will enforce his judgment against all evil, which may be done by an evil doer in the first place or one trying to gain vengeance. However, the instruction for

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3.) Romans 12:19 and Hebrews 10:30 are in a "form nearer to the Aramaic Targum than to either the LXX or the MT." (C.E.B. Cranfield, A Commentary on Romans 12-13, (Scottish Journal of Theology Occasional Papers No. 12), Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1965, p. 56.)

4.) Cf. Leviticus 19:18a., where the same reason is not given.



non-retaliation does not always occur with the assertion that the Lord will bring all vengeance, cf. Proverbs 24:29.<sup>5</sup> It may just be a socially desirable response to one who does evil.<sup>6</sup> However, where there is a theological reason for doing good in return for evil it is that all vengeance will come from God.

In Proverbs and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs this non-retaliation entails acts of goodness. Proverbs 25:21f. mentions acts of kindness towards one's enemies, but not explicitly as the "doing of good". These acts of kindness in response to evil in Proverbs 25:21f. are basically a doing of good as non-retaliatory actions towards an enemy. The Testament of Naphtali 8:4-6 specifically calls for the doing of good in response to evil.<sup>7</sup> This passage seems closest to the haustafeln tradition, but it should be noted that the theme of doing good in response to evil is developed as a theme elsewhere in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The glorification of Joseph in the Testament of Benjamin 4-5 portrays Joseph to be one who does not retaliate against the evil of his brothers, but who does acts of mercy with the confidence that the brothers will repent. The moral of the story of Joseph's good works is that by the doing of good one may overcome evil (Testament of Benjamin 4:3). The one who repays evil with good may be humble for a while, but in time

5.) See Stendahl, op. cit., pp. 347ff., for non-retaliation in the rabbis and Qumran writers, who taught non-retaliation because God would bring vengeance.

6.) McKane, op. cit., p. 575.

7.) Supra pp. 191f.

the one doing good will be glorified, cf. 5:4-5. In both these passages (Testament of Naphtali 8:4-6 and Testament of Benjamin 4-5) good works are taught because of their effect on the evil doer. On the other hand, the Testament of Gad 6:7 passage teaches forgiveness towards the evil doer which leaves all vengeance to God. Proverbs and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs therefore teach two motives for combining good works with non-retaliation, the vengeance of God and the effects of good works on the evil doer.

As a further development, the haustafeln tradition associates the good works of non-retaliation with the imperative "to be submissive". This development may be seen where the theme of doing good is woven into various traditional instructions for subordinates. The general instructions do not specifically command submission to any authority, but they introduce the association of non-retaliation with the doing of good. Paul's instructions in Romans 12:19ff. teach the Christians to "give room" (...δότε τόπον)<sup>8</sup> for the vengeance of God by acting in the manner prescribed in Proverbs 25:21f., where non-retaliation includes positive acts of kindness. Likewise, the general instructions in I Peter 2:12 introduce the haustafeln with the idea of Christians treating their accusers with good works, presumably in the place of retaliation for false accusations. As part of the conclusion to the haustafeln section in I Peter, I Peter 3: takes up the same theme of repaying good for evil rather than

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8.) For this expression cf. in the Septuagint Ben Sira 4:5; 13:22; 9:17; 38:12, and the New Testament passages of Luke 14:9 and Ephesians 4:27.

resorting to retaliation.<sup>9</sup> As the theme of doing good (as non-retaliatory action) is woven into the instructions for civic obedience and the obedience of slaves to masters, this notion of non-retaliation has some bearing on the meaning of the imperative "to be submissive".<sup>10</sup> Submission as a non-retaliatory action may be seen in the relationship between the general instructions in Romans 12:14-21 and the instructions for civic obedience in Romans 13:1-7.<sup>11</sup> As mentioned above, in Romans 12:19ff. Paul is instructing the Christians to "make room" for the vengeance of God by leaving all vengeance to God and not taking up the cause of revenge against the enemy. In relation to this general instruction, Romans 13:4 states that the authority or government is the instrument of God's vengeance (ἐκδίκος). Therefore submission to the authorities implies that the Christian leaves all vengeance to God, who executes his judgment through the punishment given to the evil doer by the government. In this case submission to the governmental authorities is non-retaliation towards evil doers within society who, by implication, are breaking the law in attempt to persecute the Christians. If a Christian were to retaliate with evil acts against his enemy, he would expect his offenses to be punished by the government. By the doing of good the Christian makes room for God's vengeance, which is executed by the

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9.) The same association of non-retaliation with good works may be found in the Gospels: cf. Matthew 5:44ff. and Luke 6:29f.

10.) The non-retaliation aspect of submission is not present in the instruction for women.

11.) It is a mistake for Ernst Käsemann, Essays on New Testament Themes, London, SCM, 1964, p.199, to interpret Romans 13:1-7 as a

government, and gains respect from the pagan authorities.<sup>12</sup> Submission as non-retaliation is also evident in the general instructions and the instructions for civic obedience in I Peter. I Peter 2:12 introduces the haustafeln in I Peter with the instruction for Christians to do good in response to the people who make false accusations against the Christians:

τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἔχοντες  
καλὴν, ἵνα ἐν ᾧ καταλαλοῦσιν ὑμῶν ὡς κακοποι-  
ῶν, ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἐποπτεύοντες δοξάσωσιν  
τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς.

13.

The same concern for non-retaliation is found in the general instructions which come at the end of the haustafeln section, 3:8ff. Verse 3:9 repeats the non-retaliatory axiom which Paul has mentioned in Romans 12:17: "do not return evil for evil...". The author seems to be talking about relationships within the church at this point. Further on in verse 13 he asks, "Now who is there to harm you if you are zealous for what is right?" (cf. Romans 13:2-4), which probably turns the reader's attention to the accusers of Christians who seem to be in the background of the author's mind. Verse 16 instructs the Christians to keep their conscience clear by doing good works in the face of abuse. This non-retaliatory action of good works will bring "to shame" those who bring accusations against the Christians (cf. Romans 12:19ff.). As in the general instructions of Romans 12:14-21,

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passage separate from its context. Commentators are divided on the question of whether the Romans 13:1-7 passage should be kept within its context or taken as a separate piece of material in any attempt to interpret its meaning; see Cranfield, op. cit., pp. 62f.

12.) Supra p. 190.



the general instructions of I Peter, which both introduce and conclude the haustafeln section, associate the doing of good with non-retaliation and caution the Christians against repaying evil for evil. The instructions for civic obedience in I Peter 2:13-17 mention the doing of good as a means of bringing to silence the ignorance of foolish men (verse 15). Again, the false accusers seem to be the foolish men who are bringing charges against the Christians. These accusers are probably other non-Christians in the society rather than specifically rulers. Consequently, the non-retaliatory action of good works is directed against a general public which accuses the Christians (perhaps in front of the authorities) rather than against the rulers. Submission to the rulers means doing good, which the rulers approve, to those false accusers in society rather than retaliating with acts of evil, which the rulers would punish, cf. I Peter 2:14. It is probable that the traditional instructions for civic obedience were closely related to the general instructions of the tradition, and that the traditional instructions for civic obedience taught the doing of good as non-retaliatory action towards those who oppose the Christians within society. Such action was commensurate with a subjection to the civic powers, who praise those who do good and punish those who do evil.<sup>14</sup> Secondly, submission as non-retaliation is

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13.) I Peter 2:12, Nestle.

14.) There is no instruction for non-retaliation in the passage pertaining to civic powers in I Timothy 2:1ff. This passage is concerned with prayer on behalf of civic leaders.



found in the traditional instructions for slaves. The traditional instructions for slaves bids slaves to be submissive to their masters by the doing of good and trusting that their reward will come from God who judges all men justly. The emphasis on the slave waiting for the justice of God brings to mind the idea of Christians allowing all revenge to be taken by the Lord rather than taking up the cause of justice themselves. This notion has been closely associated with the doing of good as non-retaliatory action. Here the slave is to continue to do good no matter what the circumstances and therefore to make room for the judgement of God where there has been ill-treatment to the slave. Also, the slave would expect judgment against himself if he were to repay the master with evil for the ill-treatment he receives. Submission for a slave therefore means non-retaliation towards a master by the doing of good, which makes room for the judgment of God who judges all men justly.<sup>15.</sup>

The idea of non-retaliation is particularly developed by the author of I Peter. It has been noted that I Peter brings out personal examples for ethics he teaches his readers.<sup>16.</sup> The non-retaliatory aspect of submission in the general instructions and the instructions for slaves inspired the writer of I Peter to bring in the example of Jesus as one who is the perfect example of non-retaliation. The general instruction at the conclusion of the haustafeln in I Peter 3:16

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15.) The traditional instructions for wives, the other subordinate which is commanded to submit, do not mention this non-retaliation.

16.) Supra p. 70, note 115.

teaches that the Christians should do good in return for the false accusations made against them and the hope that those who make such false accusations will be brought to shame. However, there may have been some questioning among the Christian readers whether good behavior would actually bring change in the offenders of the Christians. Paul himself may very well have been skeptical about the effects of good behavior on non-Christians in personal relationships. In I Corinthians 7:16 he asks: "Wife how do you know whether you will save your husband? Husband, how do you know whether you will save your wife?" On the other hand, the author of I Peter suggests that the good works of the wife will "win" the husband (I Peter 3:1-2).<sup>17</sup> The author of I Peter may have anticipated the skepticism of his readers by following verse 3:16:

ἀλλὰ μετὰ πραΰτητος καὶ φόβου, συνείδησιν  
ἔχοντες ἀγαθὴν, ἵνα ἐν ᾧ καταλαλεῖσθε καταισ-  
χυνθῶσιν οἱ ἐπηρεάζοντες ὑμῶν τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐν  
Χριστῷ ἀναστροφὴν. 18.

with the admonition to suffer for righteousness' sake, which is better for the Christian than suffering for doing wrong:

κρεῖττον γὰρ ἀγαθοποιοῦντας, εἰ θέλοι τὸ  
θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, πάσχειν ἢ κακοποιοῦντας. 19.

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17.) Stendahl, op. cit., p. 353.

18.) I Peter 3:16, Nestle.

19.) I Peter 3:17, Nestle.

Under such an admonition there is no excuse for repaying evil for evil. One is left with only one alternative: to do good despite the suffering of the Christians and the persistence of the evil doers (in this case, the false accusers). At this point Christ is mentioned as the supreme example of one who suffered under unjust punishment and died for the unrighteous who were afflicting him, in order that he might bring them to God. We even see his patient suffering after death by his preaching to the spirits in prison (vs. 19f.). Jesus therefore exemplifies a patience during his life, his death and after his death towards non-Christians in order that he might reconcile them to God. Finally, Christ is exalted in heaven with "angels, authorities and powers subject to him" (vs. 20). The example of Christ teaches Christians to suffer patiently until death under unjust treatment, never losing hope that the unrighteous will come to a repentance. The example of Christ's sufferings reinforces the missionary purpose of doing good and leaves no alternative for retaliation. In a second passage the long-suffering of Jesus is also a model for the slave who is suffering under unjust punishment. After delivering the traditional instructions for slaves (verse 2:18), the author of I Peter sets forth the principle of suffering for righteousness' sake which is a theme expanded by the example of Christ:

τοῦτο γὰρ χάρις εἰ διὰ συνείδησιν θεοῦ ὑποφέρει τις λύπας πάσχων ἀδίκως. ποῖον γὰρ κλέος εἰ ἁμαρτάνοντες καὶ κολαφιζόμενοι ὑπομενεῖτε; ἀλλ' εἰ ἀγαθοποιοῦντες καὶ πάσχοντες ὑπομενεῖτε, τοῦτο χάρις παρὰ θεῶ. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκλήθητε, ὅτι

καὶ Χριστὸς ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὑμῖν ὑπολιμπάνων  
 ὑπογραμμὸν ἵνα ἐπακολουθήσητε τοῖς ἔχνεσιν αὐτοῦ·  
 ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ εὗρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ  
 στόματι αὐτοῦ· ὃς λοιδορούμενος οὐκ ἀντελοιδορεῖ,  
 πάσχων οὐκ ἠπείλει, παρεδίδου δὲ τῷ κρίνοντι δικαί-  
 ως· ὃς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν ἐν τῷ  
 σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, ἵνα ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἀπο-  
 γενόμενοι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν· οὗ τῷ μῶλωπι ἰά-  
 θητε. ἦτε γὰρ ὡς πρόβατα πλανώμενοι, ἀλλὰ ἐπεστρά-  
 φητε νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ποιμένα καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν.

20.

This example of the suffering Christ brings out the significance of non-retaliation by the doing of good as it is found in the traditional haustafeln instructions for slaves. The traditional haustafeln instructions for slaves bids slaves to serve their masters and to leave all judgment (vengeance --?) to their master in heaven who judges all men justly. In this example of the suffering Christ, he is the savior who suffers under the unjust punishment of men without taking vengeance, without taking revenge on those who lead him to his death. Evil is not returned for the evil which crucifies him. In his passion and death the suffering Christ "trusted to him who judges justly." By not retaliating the suffering Christ made room for the very judgment of God towards those who afflicted him. At this point the analogy between the suffering Christ and the suffering Christian may go on to mean that the suffering of the Christian may bring a change



in the Christian slave's adversaries. Through the suffering of Jesus salvation is brought to the ungodly. In the same manner the suffering of the Christian servant may be a means of bringing grace and repentance to the oppressor of the servant, especially if the servant continues to do good works despite his suffering. Therefore the example of Jesus and his sufferings is a model for the slave who would trust all judgment to God and seek to bring about a change in his oppressors. It may be seen therefore how the author of I Peter uses the example of the suffering Christ to emphasize the two aspects of non-retaliation by the doing of good which are in the background to and inherent in the haustafeln tradition. The first aspect, the effect of non-retaliation by the doing of good, is taught in the traditional general instructions, the instruction for civic obedience and possibly the instruction for slaves. The example of the suffering Christ illustrates how patient suffering under unjust circumstances was meant to bring the unrighteous to repentance, where the example of the suffering Christ is attached to the general instructions, cf. 3:18ff., and the instruction for slaves. The second aspect, trusting all judgment to God, is taught in the traditional instruction for slaves and is illustrated in this instruction by the example of Christ's sufferings. Both aspects of non-retaliation by the doing of good are integral to the tradition and illustrated by the example of Christ's sufferings in I Peter.

Therefore, it may be concluded that non-retaliation is a concept associated with the doing of good in the background to the tradition, associated with the imperative "to be submissive" in the haus-



tafeln tradition itself, and developed by the author of I Peter who faithfully interprets the tradition by elaborating on the two aspects of non-retaliation by the doing of good: bringing a change in one's adversary and trusting all judgment to God. The doing of good therefore expands the meaning of submission as non-retaliatory action.

## B. Submission as a Means of Change.

From what has already been said in this chapter, this point does not need to be discussed in detail. If the doing of good is taken as a fundamental theme of the tradition, it may be argued that submission in the haustafeln was thought of as a means of change. This point should be emphasized because any modern, popular concept of submission would probably entail a passive inactivity on the part of Christians. Also, if submission is non-retaliation, it must not be supposed that this submission is a kind of passive behavior.

First it has been observed that the haustafeln tradition is composed of a fundamental theme, doing good, which comes from a Jewish background which views the doing of good as a means of changing one's enemy. Proverbs 25:21f. teaches that the doing of kindness towards one's adversary brings him to a sense of shame and a humble change of heart. This same idea is prominent in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs where the doing of good -- in particular -- and acts of kindness are taught to bring adversaries to repentance. Further parallels to this are found in the Gospels, especially

in the Sermon on the Mount, where Christians learn not to return evil for evil, but to let their good works so shine before men that men will come to glorify God who is in heaven, cf. Matthew 5:16. It is of particular interest that Matthew 5:16 refers to the κατὰ ἔργα of the Christians having an influence on men and bringing them to glorify God. As mentioned above, the saying is close to I Peter 2:12. The parallel passage in Luke 6:32-36 mentions that the doing of good (ἀγαθοποιεῖτε) is to be paid to the enemy in return for evil. But here the motive is much different: the Christian will receive his reward in heaven for the good that he does.<sup>21</sup> John 15:8 should be compared to these passages in the Gospels. The writer of St. John's Gospel speaks of the fruit that the Christians bear bringing glory to God, which is closer to Matthew 5:16. Paul may be reflecting the same idea of the Christians' good works bringing non-Christians to praise God in his letter to the Philippians, cf. Philippians 1:11 and 2:15 with Matthew 5:16. W.C. Van Unnik notes that there is a general sensitivity towards the reaction of the non-Christians to the Christians' behavior.<sup>22</sup> I Thessalonians 4:11f. admonishes Christians to live quietly, to mind their own affairs and to work with their hands in order that they might command the respect of "outsiders":

ἵνα περιπατῆτε εὐσχημόνως πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω καὶ μηδενὸς χρεῖαν ἔχτε.

The same respect for the impression made on outsiders is found in

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21.) The two motives for doing good in the haustafeln, influencing non-Christians and deferring God's judgment, are found in these two versions of the Sermon on the Mount, Matthew 5:16; Luke 6:32-35.

22.) W.C. Van Unnik, "Die Rücksicht auf die Reaktion der Nicht-Christen als Motiv in der altchristlichen Paränese", Judentum Ur-christentum Kirche, Festschrift für Joachim Jeremias, Walther

Colossians 4:5 and its parallel in Ephesians 4:15ff.<sup>23</sup> Most of the other relevant passages in the New Testament have been discussed in this thesis in regard to the doing of good and its impression on non-Christians.<sup>24</sup> It is not surprising that this concern in the New Testament church for the impression of good behavior on non-Christians should be found within the haustafeln tradition where the Christians are instructed in behavior towards a secular society and the authorities in society. Therefore, the haustafeln contained a theme, the doing of good, which was associated with the concern of bringing an enemy to repentance in the Proverbs and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the converting or impressing of non-Christians in early Christian literature.

The combining of the doing of good with the imperative to be submissive in the haustafeln tradition means that submission is an active means of bringing change. As Van Unnik has noted, there appears to have been a general concern in the New Testament church about the impression that Christians would make on non-Christians. The haustafeln tradition reflects this concern and teaches that by submitting to authorities and doing good the Christians will come to convert the non-Christians. It has been noted that the general instructions teach Christians to do good in order that their opponents may come to repentance. The instructions for civic obedience teach

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Eltester, Berlin, Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1960, pp. 221-233.

23.) Ibid., p. 228.

24.) I Peter 2:12,15; 3:1-2,16; I Timothy 6:2; Titus 3:8; 2:5,7,10.

Christians to be submissive to the government, which praises the Christians for their good works, cf. Romans 13:1-7 and I Peter 2:13-17, which impress authorities and bring non-Christians to repentance.<sup>25</sup> The instructions for wives and slaves in I Peter<sup>26</sup> associate doing good with submission. And the Titus 2:9-3:8 passage exhorts slaves and citizens to be submissive as a "good deed".

Throughout the haustafeln passages the New Testament writers interpret the doing of good in the instructions for submission as a means of impressing and converting non-Christians. The general instructions ( I Peter 2:12; 3:16) mention the effect of good works on those non-Christians who bring false accusations against the Christians. The corresponding passage for civic obedience in I Peter 2:15 mentions the good works as a means of bringing men to silence. If the verse is read in conjunction with 2:12, it implies that the non-Christians may come to praise God in their repentance. The wife is instructed in I Peter 3:1-6 to do good and have a humble and quiet person in order to "win" her husband.<sup>27</sup> Titus 1:16 mentions "good deeds" as a criterion for those who are righteous and willing to be subordinate in the order of the church. Those incapable of good

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25.) Those possibly brought to repentance are evil men who oppose the Christians. In these civic instructions the government is on the side of the Christians and God's righteousness.

26.) Supra pp. 55,82ff.

27.) Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 349, mentions



are insubordinate. The letter continues to instruct Titus to teach "what befits sound doctrine", i.e. ethics that are commensurate with Christian teachings, cf. 2:1. These ethics are to defend the faith or the Christian doctrine by not giving any opponent of Christianity grounds for discrediting Christian beliefs by citing Christian behavior. Consequently, the older women are to teach the younger women what is recognized as "good" in order that the "word of God may not be discredited" (2:5). The young men are to be models of good deeds "so that an opponent may be put to shame, having nothing evil to say of us," (2:8). The instruction is reminiscent of Romans 12:19ff. whereby the good of the Christians brings the enemy to shame. Even the good deeds of the slave adorn the "doctrine of God our Savior", (2:10). In the letter of Titus the submissive behavior of the haustafeln tradition is "good" in both the sight of Christians and non-Christians (cf. 3:8), and it recommends the Christian faith to non-Christians. Therefore, throughout these haustafeln passages the good works of the subordinates in their acts of subordination have an impression on the non-Christians and sometimes lead the non-Christians to repentance.

It may therefore be concluded that submission in the haustafeln tradition was generally understood in the early church as an active means of favorably impressing the non-Christians. Although submission is non-retaliation towards an offender, it is not to be taken as a

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that in every instance *κερδαίνω* is used in the New Testament it means "to win over" with humility as an instrument of conversion.



passive inactivity but as a positive, active and influential way of expressing the Christian faith. In fact, the Christian citizen, wife and slave were to take up the very missionary activity of the church in their submission through the doing of good. It is generally recognized today that there is no concern in the haustafeln passages for the change in social structures under which these subordinates lived, such as a change in civic laws or institutions, the abandonment of marital obligations or the abolition of slavery. But there is a concern for a change in the people under whom they serve. In this sense submission is an active means of change.

C. Submission as a Combination of Social Customs with an Active Christian Witness.

The influence of popular Stoic ethics on the haustafeln must be taken into consideration in any attempt to understand the meaning of submission in the haustafeln tradition. This thesis has emphasized the Palestinian Jewish background to the haustafeln tradition and how that background illuminates our understanding of submission within the haustafeln tradition. Palestinian Judaism particularly gives us an understanding of submission as the doing of good. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that submission on the part of wives, citizens and slaves reflects the usual social conventions of the Graeco-Roman world.<sup>28</sup> These unquestioned social duties are re-

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28.) Martin Dibelius und D.H. Greeven, An die Kolosser, Epheser an Philemon, 3 Aufl., Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1953, p. 46, cite Plutarch for an example of the wife's submission in Hellenism.

inforced by the haustafeln tradition. Therefore, submission in the haustafeln tradition at least meant that the Christian subordinates were to keep the usual social obligation to their superiors.

It has been discussed in the haustafeln studies why the New Testament church turned to the popular Stoic ethics in an attempt to formulate their social obligations. The most widely accepted cause for the Christians borrowing from Greek household codes is the church's contact with the Hellenistic world. Since Dibelius' Colossians commentary in 1927 and Weidinger's study in 1928, the majority of scholars recognize this as one of the obvious factors which contributed to the codification of the haustafeln.<sup>29</sup> Kenneth E. Kirk and C.H. Dodd have singled this out as the main cause. (i.) Writing on the general topic of ethical codification in the New Testament, Kirk describes the conditions of the Hellenistic world in which the early church was placed. At the beginning of the Christian era the "Jewish and the Greek world... were demanding clear, authoritative, and easily remembered instructions on ethical questions."<sup>30</sup> The early church could have easily used the Jewish codes of the day, but had made its breach with Judaism and stood alone in the pagan world. "It had to be prepared not merely to keep its own members together, but

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29.) Some scholars do not recognize the haustafeln as a tradition in the early church (cf. Selwyn, op. cit., pp. 19f.) M.S. Enslin, The Literature of the Christian Movement, Part III of Christian Beginnings, New York, Harper and Bros., 1956, pp. 322f., argues that the general make-up of I Peter, which includes the haustafeln, suggests that the material came from Paul. See also C. Leslie Mitton, The Epistle to the Ephesians, Its Authorship, Origin and Purpose, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1951, p. 196.

to answer the ethical questions of earnest heathen enquirers."<sup>31</sup>.

Kirk concludes:

The main impetus towards codification came, therefore, from contact with the Greek world; and the church adopted the method already in use in the Jewish diaspora of throwing its ethical teaching into well-recognized moulds. ...

Three main devices were employed in this early formalizing of Christian ethics -- the metaphor of the 'Two Ways', the use of catalogues of virtues and vices, and the systematic arrangement of domestic duties in what may be called 'household codes'.<sup>32</sup>.

Generally speaking, Kirk does not want to overlook the importance of the Old Testament and Rabbinic teachings for the codification of Christian ethics.<sup>33</sup> But, he particularly traces the "household codes" to the influence of Greek ethics. (ii.) In a more recent essay (19-53), "The Primitive Catechism and the Sayings of Jesus", C.H. Dodd cites the church's contact with Greek culture as the primary factor for codifying the haustafeln ethics. The article proposes that the early catechetical forms (defined by Carrington) were channels for preserving the sayings of Jesus before the writings of the Gospel records.<sup>34</sup> In this article Dodd conjectures that the catechetical forms (including the haustafeln) were fixed at a very early date, at

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30.) Kirk, Vision, p. 118.

31.) Ibid., pp. 118f.

32.) Ibid., p. 118.

33.) Ibid., p. 121.

34.) C.H. Dodd, "The Primitive Christian Catechism and the Sayings of Jesus", New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of Thomas Walter Manson, ed. A.J.B. Higgins, Manchester, University Press, 1953, pp. 106ff.

the time when the Greek-speaking converts from paganism began to enter the church in such numbers that the need for standardizing catechisms became pressing.<sup>35</sup> This influx of converts from paganism necessitated the preservation of the sayings of Jesus in catechetical forms. Both Kirk and Dodd see the church's contact with Greek culture as the chief cause for codifying the haustafeln but each scholar stresses a particular point of this general reason. Kirk believes that the early church had to answer ethical questions of the "Jewish and Greek worlds", a common task of the day. Dodd believes that the church had to preserve the sayings of Jesus in catechetical form for pagan converts. (iii.) A third view sees the early return of Jesus as an important cause for the codification of the haustafeln tradition. This view is represented first of all in Dibelius' commentary on Colossians (1927). According to Dibelius, the expectancy of the early return of Jesus caused the Christians to resign their duties to every day life, including family, homeland and civilization in general:

Diese Spruchsammlungen wollen die Pflichten der einzelnen Gruppen im Hause festlegen. Ihre Existenz in urchristlichen Schriften bezeugt das Bedürfnis des jungen Christentums, sich im Alltagsleben einzurichten. Selbstverständlich ist dieses Bedürfnis nicht; denn das Christentum, das als eschatologische Botschaft in die Welt und auch speziell in die griechische Welt eintrat, s. I Th 1:9f., konnte scheinbar auf jede grundsätzliche

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35.) Ibid., p. 110.

36.) M. Dibelius, An die Kolosser, 1927, p. 36. Also see the third edition by D.H. Greeven, p. 48.

37.) Ibid., p. 7.

Stellung zu den Kulturgemeinschaften Familie und Vaterland wie zur Kultur überhaupt verzichten vgl. die persönliche Stellung des Pls zur Ehe I Cor 7:29ff. Infolgedessen war das Christentum auf die Befriedigung jenes Bedürfnisses wenig vorbereitet, konnte ihm zum mindesten nicht mit Gedanken des Evangeliums Jesu gerecht werden. Man war also auf die sittlichen Belehrungen angewiesen, wie sie hellenistische und jüdische Propaganda ausgebildet hatten ...

36.

In a later work<sup>37</sup>. Dibelius still holds to this view. "The primitive Christian churches were prepared for the disappearance of this world and not for life in it," he writes. "They were therefore in no way prepared for the necessity of bringing forward hortatory sentences for everyday life." On the other hand, the codes of Judaism were available and needed only few additions to make them Christian. Taking Dibelius' viewpoint as a point of departure,<sup>38</sup>. Karl Weidinger developed a much more detailed theory which divides the process of developing New Testament ethics into three stages. In the first stage the church made its ethical decisions through the guiding inspiration of the Holy Spirit.<sup>39</sup>. The preaching of the early church did not give Christians specific instructions for what to do in particular situations, but only theological generalizations. In this sense the truths of theology did not touch the world of reality. For example, Galatians 3:28 (οὐκ ἔστι δοῦλος οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος, οὐκ ἔστι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ· πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἰς ἓστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ) is meant to be

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37.) Martin Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, trans. Bertram Lee Woolf, London, Ivor Nicholson & Watson, 1934, p. 240.

38.) Weidinger, Haustafeln, pp. 5f.

39.) Ibid., p. 7.



a solution to the problems of family life, slavery and marriage. The Christians believed that when all were united in the Spirit of Christ, the problems of reality disappeared. The Christian conscience was a new creation which guided all personal decisions. The second stage of development was a difficult period in the life of the early church.<sup>40</sup> In the first stage the church had experienced the flood of the Spirit and did not see a need for general ethical teachings to guide the church. When the flood of this Spiritual life subsided, Christians were once again faced with the problems of everyday life. With these immediate concerns surrounding them, the Christians were ready for ethical teachings. Still, the Christians anticipated the imminent return of Christ in their own lifetime. Within this present age they lived as foreigners and pilgrims, desiring to live in the future kingdom of God. For a time this hope led them to forget the problems of normal circumstances. For example, they resolved the problem of church and state relations by anticipating the final destruction of the state (Revelation 17).<sup>41</sup> As time passed and the second coming did not occur, the church had to recognize the plight of living under these normal circumstances for a greater span of time. There arose an increasing demand for ethical teachings in the sphere of everyday duties and personal relationships. At this crucial juncture the church turned to intellectual and moral knowledge as a

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40.) Ibid., p. 7.

41.) Ibid., p. 8. Revelation 17 is not a good example because of the late date of Revelation. See Kümmel, op. cit., pp. 327ff.

guide for the Christian's conscience. In the tradition from guidance by only the Spirit to guidance by moral and intellectual knowledge the church was caught in the tension of wanting an imminent second coming of Christ and facing the problems of practical circumstances. Fortunately, the church was gifted with the theological genius of the Apostle Paul, who combined the hope for the second coming with the ethical knowledge for practical problems. Without this gift the church may have faced extinction, not having the ability to reconcile practical problems with a hope in the second coming.<sup>42</sup> I Corinthians illustrates how Paul united an eschatological hope with advice on the practical problems of marriage and slavery.<sup>43</sup> In the third stage of development other church leaders and teachers of Paul's day (and later) were impressed by the similarity of Paul's instructions on marriage and slavery to the popular Stoic ethics. Thinking Paul's theologically-based instructions justified the popular Stoic ethics, other church leaders adopted these popular household codes and codified them into the Christian haustafeln tradition. Weidinger concludes:

Mit dem Vorhandensein von Paränese im urchristlichen Schrifttum rechnet die theologische Forschung erst seit verhältnismässig kurzer Zeit. Aber die Unterschiede zwischen den aktuellen Ausführungen, die Paulus meist in den Anfangskapiteln seiner Briefe gibt, und den allgemeinen, überall passenden, auf keine konkrete Situation hinweisenden Ermahnungen lassen sich nur begreifen, wenn

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<sup>42</sup>.) Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>43</sup>.) Ibid., pp. 9f.

man annimmt, dass wir es hier mit Abschnitten von ganz verschiedenem Interesse zu tun haben. Alle diese Mahnungen und Weisungen (Rm. 12, II Kor. 6,11--7,1, Gal. 5,13--16, Kol. 3 u. 4, I Thess. 4,1ff., Jak. 1, Hebr. 13, Did. 1--5, Barn. 19--20, Hermas mand. 8, 3ff.) sind untereinander so ähnlich, literarische Abhängigkeit nachzuweisen ist aber so aussichtslos, dass nur die Möglichkeit bleibt: sie sind aus einem grossen gemeinsamen Gut der Christenheit geschöpft, das jeder für seine Zwecke verwendete. Zu diesem Gemeinbesitz an Paränese gehörten auch die "Haustafeln", die sich bisweilen bis zu wörtlichen Anklängen ähneln, bisweilen aber auch nur das Schema gemeinsam haben.

44.

As Dibelius, Weidinger cites the anticipation of the imminent return of Christ as a cause for codifying the haustafeln tradition, but Weidinger's account is more complex. The general theological truths of preaching, the dependence of the church on the leading of the Spirit for ethical decisions, the eschatological hope for the second coming, the recession of this hope, Paul's particular theological genius, and the recognition of the similarity between Paul's instructions in I Corinthians and popular Stoic ethics are all interrelated causes. They constitute a process of ethical development which leads to the codification of the haustafeln tradition. Of these three views represented by Kirk, Dodd, Dibelius and Weidinger, the third view is most prevalent.<sup>45.</sup>

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44.) Ibid., p. 12.

45.) For example, Weidinger's view is reflected in the works of W. K. Lowther Clarke, New Testament Problems, Essays, Reviews, Interpretations, London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929, pp. 157ff.; Ernst Lohmeyer, Die Briefe an die Philipper, an die Kolosser und an Philemon, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1930, pp. 152ff.; and D.H. Wendland, Die Kirche in der Modernen Gesellschaft, 2 Aufl., Hamburg, Im Furchen-Verlage, 1958, p. 35.

It is generally accepted that the church's contact with Hellenistic culture was one cause for the codification of the haustafeln. Dibelius and Weidinger have presented sufficient haustafeln precedents from Hellenistic texts to make this cause credible.<sup>46</sup> More recent writers who express this view either cite the same Greek sources presented by Dibelius and Weidinger or refer to the work of Weidinger.<sup>47</sup> However, having accepted this general cause, Kirk and Dodd add more specific opinions. (i.) It is probable that the church had to answer the ethical questions of Gentile converts, as Kirk supposes. The confrontation with ethical problems must have had some influence on the codification of the haustafeln, but it is too general to define a cultural trend of the day in the "Jewish and Greek worlds" as a cause. (ii.) Dodd's suggestion, that the early catechetical material of the church was used for the preservation of the sayings of Jesus, does not apply to the haustafeln. Other catechetical material defined by Carrington may have served as early channels for the sayings of Jesus,<sup>48</sup> but the sayings of Jesus are not reproduced in the haustafeln tradition. The closest link between the haustafeln tradition and the sayings of Jesus is the similarity between the non-retaliation ethic in the Sermon on the Mount and the non-retaliatory instructions in the haustafeln. Therefore, there is no concrete evidence for Kirk and Dodd's views.

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46.) Dibelius, Kolosser, 1 Aufl., pp. 36ff.; 3 Aufl., pp. 48f.; Weidinger, op. cit., pp. 23ff.

47.) Selwyn, op. cit., pp. 421ff.; Hunter, op. cit., p. 55.

48.) Dodd, op. cit., pp. 106-118, in the entire article refers to the catechetical pattern defined by Carrington.



(iii.) The third viewpoint, as it is developed by Dibelius and Weidinger, demands closer examination. Dibelius offers biblical evidence for the view that the expectancy of the imminent second coming caused the church to be unprepared for ethical problems.<sup>49.</sup> From the first hearing of the Gospel, Christians were made aware of the imminent second coming. With this expectation they tended to leave their problems and to relinquish civic and domestic responsibilities. Subsequently, church leaders included the popular Stoic household codes as a familiar and convenient teaching for the practical problems of everyday life, rather than develop some practical ethics from Christian theology.<sup>50.</sup> In regard to Dibelius' view it must be recognized that the expectancy for the imminent return of Christ diverted the Christians' attention from the more mundane problems of everyday life, as evidenced in I Corinthians and I Thessalonians. On the other hand, the practical questions on marriage and slavery (cf. I Corinthians 7) arose even when Christians were eagerly awaiting the imminent return of Christ. In answer to these questions Paul attempted to derive a number of admonitions from the theological conviction that Christ's return was at hand. Other reasons for his instructions are given in I Corinthians 7, such as the words of Jesus, the consecration of the pagan spouse and the Christian's calling to peace, but this theological conviction in the return of Christ is vital. Thus, the question arises: why the church did not continue to derive its ethics from theological

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49.) I Thessalonians 1:9ff. and I Corinthians 7:29ff.

50.) Dibelius, Kolosser, I Aufl., pp. 36f.



grounds rather than adopt and modify ethics. This eschatological hope did not entirely eclipse concerns for the everyday social relationships, but became a motive for enforcing social obligations in I Corinthians 7. It appears as though Weidinger recognized this problem in Dibelius' view and attempted to resolve the problem by proposing three stages of ethical development in the early church. In the first stage the church did not establish general ethical codes because it depended on the leading of the Spirit. In the second stage the church tried to answer ethical questions with moral and intellectual knowledge, formulating interim ethics which were derived from their theological convictions. In the third stage the church adopted the Hellenistic household codes because they resembled the interim ethics worked out by Paul in I Thessalonians and I Corinthians. In criticism of the three-stages of ethical development, Weidinger's scheme seems to raise more problems than it solves. First, it is unlikely that the slight similarity between the interim ethics of Paul in I Corinthians and the popular Stoic household codes would have justified the church leaders in adopting all the Stoic household codes. The instructions in I Corinthians 7 deal with marriage and slavery,<sup>51</sup> and are much more specific than the general instructions, if they can be called instructions, in the Stoic household codes. The precedents in popular Stoic ethics include obedience to civic authorities, obedience of children to par-

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51.) Paul speaks of different problems in marriage, celibacy and sexual relationships as he answers specific questions from the Corinthian church. Weidinger, *op. cit.*, p. 10, disagrees with this view: "Das ist gar nicht/so sehr 'individuelle Stimmung' und 'persönliche Anlage' des Apostels, ... sondern im Grunde genommen etwas für alle ungemein Selbstverständliches."

ents and various other "natural" obligations in the home and family life.<sup>52</sup> Paul's instructions to slaves and wives "to remain in the state of their calling" encourages them to keep the usual social obligations. It is questionable, however, that such a Pauline instruction led the church to a wholesale adoption of all duties contained in the popular Stoic ethics and codified in the haustafeln. Secondly, it is improbable that the early church could pass through all three stages of this ethical development within a necessarily short period of time. If Galatians was written in the first period, when the church depended on the leading of the Holy Spirit alone, the first period would extend into the late forties and possibly the mid fifties.<sup>53</sup> If I Corinthians 5,6 and 7 were written in the second stage, when the imminent second coming was reconciled with the practical problems of the day, this second stage must have existed during 53 or 54.<sup>54</sup> If the haustafeln were employed in the third stage and Colossians is one of the first to represent the haustafeln tradition, the third stage would begin at or after 60.<sup>55</sup> The haustafeln tradition was probably already codified and taught in

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52.) Supra p. 105ff.

53.) Kümmel, op. cit., pp. 197f.; A.H. McNeile, An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1960, pp. 143ff.

54.) C.K. Barrett, A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, London, Adam and Charles Black, 1968, p. 5; Kümmel, op.cit., p. 205.

55.) C.F.D. Moule, The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon, Cambridge, University Press, 1957, pp. 23,25; Kümmel, op. cit., pp. 244f. Sixty would be the latest date for the composition of Colossians.

the churches before its appearance in Colossians, and probably was known as a teaching tradition about the mid fifties. With this dating the three stages of ethical development would extend from 49, if the earliest date of Galatians be acceptable, to the mid fifties. Therefore the lack of close similarity between Paul's "interim ethics" and the haustafeln tradition, and the rapid transition of this development make Weidinger's theory questionable.

Perhaps there is not enough evidence to prove why the early church turned to the popular Stoic ethics. Certainly, the church's contact with Hellenistic culture made the household codes a possible source for ethical teachings. Also, the awareness of the Christians that the second coming of Christ would not be as imminent as first expected may have turned their attention to the more mundane problems of life together in the household and under the state. But it must not be overlooked that the haustafeln tradition teaches how Christians may have a vital Christian witness within the limitations of their social positions. It may be assumed that the haustafeln tradition attempted to answer the very question of how Christians (especially subordinates) could have a Christian witness in their different stations in life. The early church therefore turned to the popular Stoic codes as a resource for codifying or organizing instructions for the Christians under the state and within the household.<sup>56.</sup>

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56.) Supra pp. 133f. The form of the Stoic codes is the only close parallel to the haustafeln tradition besides dealing with the same subject matter. Although the Stoic codes imply that the various subordinates should be submissive to the superiors, the instructions of the known haustafeln tradition are closer to Jewish instructions.

This is at least one reason why the early church found the popular Stoic duties resourceful for compiling an ethical tradition, which to some extent applies a submissive ethic found in the Sermon on the Mount to social relationships.

The haustafeln tradition uses the popular Stoic duties as an outline or framework for organizing a code of social obligations. The early church must have considered the social obligations contained in the popular Stoic ethics a legitimate means through which Christians may have a witness to their faith. What seems to have brought the church to this realization was not the theological concept that the social order was some "sacred order" in itself, as Carrington has argued,<sup>57</sup> but that the doing of good is both righteous and influential, as discussed above. Submission through the doing of good was the kind of behavior complying with the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount, where Christians are taught to be a light to the gentiles by doing good works and non-retaliatory actions. It was also the kind of behavior which follows the example of the suffering servant, Jesus. With this teaching and example guiding them the early Christians understood their Christian witness as a doing of good or submission to the recognized authorities. The actual composition of

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57.) Supra pp. 240ff. H.D. Wendland, "Zur Sozialethischen Bedeutung der neutestamentischen Haustafeln", Die Leibhaftigkeit des Wortes, Otto Michel u. Ulrich Mann (Heraus.), Hamburg, Im Fruche-Verlag, 1958, pp. 36f., sees the Lordship of Christ over the social order as an important theological motive for Christians not to deviate from the social structure. His reasoning here is close to Carrington's. Actually, there are several motives for Christians to be submissive. However, this fundamental theme of doing good carries with it the motives that good will be righteous and influential.



the haustafeln tradition only resembles the popular Stoic codes in some formal aspects, but the actual teaching of the tradition reinforces Christian obedience to the prevailing social customs. In this sense the teachings of submission in the haustafeln tradition are a combination of an active Christian witness with the prevailing social customs.<sup>58.</sup>

#### D. Conclusions.

If the restrictive sense of submission is interpreted according to the fundamental theme of the doing of good, the following points may be concluded about the meaning of submission in the haustafeln tradition. (i.) Submission means non-retaliation towards one's adversaries or superiors. The concept of repaying good for evil as a means of submission is seen in the background of the haustafeln tradition, the haustafeln tradition and the additions to the tradition by the individual authors. This aspect of submission seems to reflect a general teaching in early Christianity on love of one's enemies and the blessing of those who curse Christians which is located in the sermon on the Mount. (ii.) However, this non-retaliation does not imply that the subordinates are passive to the people under whom they serve. The non-retaliation is expressed through a doing of good, which itself has an influence on a superior (and ad-

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58.) Cf. Schelkle, op. cit., p. 96, who sees the haustafeln as an attempt of the early church to furnish everyday instructions which are a combination of biblical insight and an understanding of natural ethics.



versary) and takes up the missionary activity of the church. (iii.) Submission is a teaching which combines the admonition for an active Christian witness with an admonition for Christians to be obedient to the social customs of the day. It is obvious that the haustafeln tradition does not call for any kind of social change or radical disobedience against the social order. The instructions of the haustafeln reinforce the Christians' obedience to the recognized authorities, and, in addition, guide subordinates in how they may have a vital Christian witness within these social responsibilities.

## VII CONCLUSIONS

This chapter summarizes and evaluates the conclusions of the previous chapters. The first part of the chapter summarizes all the conclusions of the previous chapters. The second part of the chapter evaluates these conclusions and states the main conclusions of the thesis.

A. Summary.

The first chapter of this thesis discusses the haustafeln studies of the twentieth century and the task of this thesis. It concludes that there have been two approaches to the study of the haustafeln in the twentieth century: the linear and cross-sectional approaches. The scholarship of Seeberg, Dibelius, Weidinger, Daube and Kamlah use the linear approach in an attempt to demonstrate the influence of pagan and Jewish teachings on the haustafeln tradition. Not until the time of Carrington and Selwyn were there systematic attempts to define the haustafeln tradition by a thorough synoptic comparison of the haustafeln passages in the New Testament. This is called the cross-sectional approach. However, no haustafeln study has thoroughly employed both approaches in one study. This combination would be beneficial for a descriptive analysis of the tradition (through a cross-sectional approach) which would serve as a basis for a comparative analysis with Jewish and Greek precedents (through a linear approach). The result of such a descriptive and comparative study

would identify the Jewish and Greek elements within the haustafeln tradition.<sup>1</sup> The first task of this thesis is an attempt to identify the haustafeln origins through a combination of these two approaches. Secondly, this thesis discusses the meaning of submission in the haustafeln tradition and how submission was interpreted in haustafeln passages by New Testament writers. It is important to know what the haustafeln tradition meant to the early church in order to interpret what the haustafeln may mean to the church today. This third task, the interpretation of the submissive ethic of the haustafeln for the church today, is reserved for the epilogue of this thesis, chapter VIII.

Employing the cross-sectional approach, the second chapter of this thesis defines the underlying tradition of the New Testament haustafeln texts. This definition follows a three point descriptive analysis: the form, the instructions and the motives of each individual duty.<sup>2</sup> Taking into account the literary dependence of the New Testament letters, this study defines the haustafeln tradition according to the frequency of forms, instructions and motives (whether they be verbal or thematic parallels) in the haustafeln texts. (A.) The haustafeln form involves the sequence and the word structure of the individual duties.<sup>3</sup> The sequence of duties begins with general in-

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1.) Supra pp. 24f.

2.) Note supra p. 27, n.3.

3.) Supra pp. 100ff.

structions which are followed by the duty of civic obedience and the household duties respectively. The duties for domestic obligations seem to follow a series of relationships of descending importance: husbands and wives, children and parents, and slaves and masters. In each domestic relationship the duty for the subordinate comes first, which suggests that the haustafeln tradition was primarily intended for the instruction of subordinates. The structure of the duties includes one or more of the following formal elements: an address, instruction and motive. (B.) The predominant instruction for subordinates is "to be submissive", which appears in the principal imperative for wives and slaves. By contrast, children are taught to "obey" parents. Each of the superiors in the reciprocal duties are given specific instructions: husbands are to "love" their wives, fathers are not to be "harsh" with their children and masters are to be "fair and just" towards their slaves. The tradition explains the meaning of the traditional imperative "to be submissive" as a doing of good on the part of subordinates. Other subsidiary themes expand this instruction for submission. In the additions by individual authors the instructions for each class of people are sometimes expanded by the epistolary themes. (C.) Most of the motives appearing in the haustafeln passages are added by the individual authors. Only a general motive for making an impression on non-Christians and the motive for slaves and masters to be aware of the judgment of God, who is their Lord in heaven, are traditional motives. An approximate definition of the haustafeln tradition might be: "Do good to all men -- even in adverse circumstances, in order that non-Christians may see your good deeds and honor God. Be subject to the civic au-



thorities, who punish those who do evil and praise those who do good, by the doing of good and the honoring of all men. Wives be submissive to your husbands. Let your adornment be a quiet person and good works, not gold and garments. Husbands love your wives. Children obey your parents. Fathers do not be harsh with your children. Slaves be submissive to your masters by doing good and being thorough in your work. Fear the Lord, knowing that you may trust the judgment of God who justly judges all men. Masters be just and fair towards your slaves, knowing you also have an impartial judge in heaven."

The third chapter of this thesis analyzes the alleged haustafeln precedents from popular Stoic ethics and compares them to the haustafeln tradition according to their form, instructions and motives. This chapter concludes that apart from the general subject and tenor of the haustafeln the popular household codes' form, instructions and motives resemble very little of the haustafeln tradition's form, instructions and motives. The popular household codes only contain a similar sequence of obligations, which are written in a terse style. But there are some formal elements, instructions and motives of the haustafeln which are not found in these popular household codes. It seems as though the early church used the short scheme of popular Stoic codes as a model for formulating the haustafeln tradition. But the haustafeln tradition cannot be claimed to be popular Stoic ethics with slight Christian modification. There is too much room for Jewish and Christian material in the fundamental composition of the tradition. The popular Stoic household codes only contain an ele-



mentary framework of what was developed from other material into the haustafeln tradition.

Chapter four of this thesis analyzes alleged haustafeln precedents from Hellenistic Judaism and compares them to the haustafeln tradition according to their form, instructions and motives. This chapter concludes that the haustafeln tradition is closer to the household codes in the writings of Hellenistic Judaism than the same codes in Stoic writers. The form of the Hellenistic Jewish household codes resembles the haustafeln tradition in both sequence and structure. The sequence of the duties contains reciprocal duties. The structure of the duties contains an address to certain classes of people for particular behavior towards other classes of people, i.e. masters to slaves, which was not a feature of the popular Stoic ethics. The duties contain instructions accompanied by motives as in the haustafeln tradition, but there are not many close parallels.<sup>4</sup> Although there are these affinities between the Hellenistic Jewish codes and the haustafeln tradition, it cannot be argued that the texts cited are sufficient evidence for a didactic tradition in Hellenistic Judaism which transmitted the household codes from popular ethics to the early church. Hellenistic Judaism developed popular household codes along similar lines as the early church, i.e. addressing each duty to a particular class of people for specific behavior towards another class of people. Hellenistic Judaism and the early church were probably both working from the same popular

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4.) Supra pp. 164f.

household codes revealed in the Stoic texts.

Chapter five of this thesis compares the haustafeln tradition with ethics of Palestinian Judaism.<sup>5</sup> There are no Palestinian Jewish ethics in the form of the haustafeln. Furthermore, the possible Hebraisms of the haustafeln, the nominative of address and the participial imperative, are not sufficient evidence for a Hebrew code from which the haustafeln tradition was translated. This chapter concludes that the real parallels between the haustafeln tradition and Palestinian Judaism are in the content of the haustafeln tradition: instructions and motives. The early church seems to have combined the sequence of the duties found in the popular ethics with elaborations from instructional and motivational themes from Palestinian Judaism. (1.) The general instructions admonish Christians to do good in return for evil, an instruction which resembles the non-retaliatory action taught in Proverbs 25:21f., the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Sermon on the Mount. This theme of doing good is woven into all the instructions for adult subordinates: citizens, wives and slaves. The theme is developed in the haustafeln with both a religious and social significance. The religious significance is that good works will be rewarded by God. The social significance is that good works will change one's adversary. The doing of good as non-retaliatory action was widely known in early Christianity and woven into the haustafeln tradition. The fact that the doing of

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5.) Supra pp. 166ff.

good has a positive influence on an adversary ties the general motive of the haustafeln to this instructional theme. The general motive, which is found throughout the haustafeln duties, speaks of Christian action making a favorable impression on non-Christians. It seems likely that the general instruction and general motive accompanied each other in the tradition and were derived from the same Jewish concept of the doing of good. This chapter argues that the doing of good is a fundamental theme of the tradition which explains the meaning of the main imperative "to be submissive". The main imperative of the haustafeln tradition "to be submissive" was probably not used in the haustafeln tradition because it had a special association with some Jewish or Christian theological concept, as Kamlah and Carrington argue.<sup>6</sup> It was probably used because it appropriately expresses the behavior intended for Christian subordinates: the doing of good is a kind of non-retaliatory submission to another. Alongside this fundamental theme of the haustafeln tradition there exist other instructional and motivational themes taken from Judaism. (2.) The instructions for civic obedience have precedence in Palestinian Judaism, despite the rebellious movements against occupational powers. More specifically the instructions may have been influenced by Proverbs 24:21f. (LXX), which presents submission to the state as a religious duty, admonishes fear for rulers who administer the judgment of God and contains a prudential concern:

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6.) Supra pp. 240ff.

by fearing the king one will escape divine punishment. The haustafeln tradition may also have taught that Christians are to submit to the authorities because they are instruments of divine justice. This motive also has Jewish precedents. (3.) The instruction for wives also has Jewish influence. The instruction for the submission of wives to husbands cannot be seen as distinctly Jewish in the New Testament period. But the insistence on the silence of women as a virtue which acknowledges the superiority of men and the instruction for the doing of good suggest Jewish influence. (4.) The instruction for husbands does not hold any close parallels to Jewish texts from which the instruction could have been borrowed. (5.) The instruction for children contains an imperative "ὁπακούετε" which may have been adapted from the conventional and proverbial imperative "ἀκούετε". (6.) The instruction for fathers particularly is reminiscent of the father's role in the religious instruction of the children, which may have been an influence from Jewish practice. Fathers are instructed to be considerate and not harsh with their children, an emphasis in the proverbial instructions for the discipline and training of children. However, there is no evidence for a direct influence from the Proverbs. (7.) The particular affinities between the haustafeln instruction for slaves and Aboth 1:3, as modified by tradition, suggests that this well-known rabbinic saying from the rabbis had some influence on the haustafeln tradition. In both the Aboth 1:3 passage and the haustafeln the slave is to be thorough in his work -- without a view to pleasing earthly masters alone -- and to be fearful of the Lord. The doing of good is the other instructional theme of the duty. (8.) The instruction for



masters has no specific parallels to Jewish texts. But there are teachings in the Old Testament and Judaism for masters to be just towards their slaves with the motive that the master will be rewarded by his Lord in heaven for his fair treatment. Thus, the early church would not have had to look beyond its Scriptures for this emphasis in the slave and master relationship.

Having considered the various strands of Palestinian Jewish material in the haustafeln tradition, chapter five evaluates the Jewish influence. (1.) There is no discernible influence from the forms of Jewish ethical codes. (2.) The two main imperatives for subordinates and the instructions for fathers and masters probably reflect some Jewish background. The imperative "to be submissive" expresses the proper action for adult subordinates to do good, which is a kind of submission. This fundamental theme is suspected to be derived from Jewish sources. The instruction for children "to obey" parents may have been derived from a common proverbial instruction. The instruction for fathers may reflect the typical educational role of a Jewish father. The instruction for masters reflects the emphasis on the slave and master relationship in the Old Testament. (3.) It is of interest to note the possible connection of the two motives with the instructional theme of doing good. In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Sermon on the Mount the doing of good is to bring a change in one's adversaries, which is probably a concept developed from the teachings of the Proverbs. This Jewish background corresponds with the general motive. In some rabbinic literature the doing of good to adversaries makes room for the judg-



ment of God against them. This rabbinic motive for the doing of good may be reflected in the motive for slaves, who are to do good and trust all judgment to God. In other words, the slave trusts that God will bring revenge against the master who treats him unjustly. It may be that the instructional theme of doing good may have been developed with these Jewish motives in the haustafeln tradition.

Chapter six of this thesis interprets submission according to the doing of good. It is understood that there are two meanings for submission in the haustafeln tradition: the broader meaning which applies to all Christians, and the restrictive meaning which applies only to subordinates. This chapter is concerned with the restrictive meaning. Three points are made regarding this meaning of submission: (i.) Submission is non-retaliation. (ii.) Submission is not a passive inactivity, but an active way of influencing non-Christians. (iii.) Submission is a means of combining the social obligations of the day with an active and positive Christian witness. Regarding the first point, since submission is the doing of good and the doing of good is non-retaliation, then submission is non-retaliatory action. Secondly, if submission is the doing of good and the doing of good is a means of influencing one's adversary, submission is an active and positive means of bringing about a change in one's adversary. The idea of the doing of good as a means of change has been cited in Jewish and Christian background. There seems to be a general concern in the New Testament for the good impression Christians would make on non-Christians, an impression which is often made through good works. This concern is also found in the haustafeln tradition as a

motive. There is no concern in the haustafeln for change in the social structure by the subordinates or superiors. However, the subordinates may bring about a change in their adversaries (sometimes their superiors). Thirdly, submission in the haustafeln combines the prevailing social customs with an active Christian witness. It has generally been recognized that the haustafeln support the status quo of social norms as they are expressed in popular Stoic ethics. This fact has raised the question of why the church turned to the popular household ethics in an attempt to formulate social ethics. There may not be sufficient evidence to prove all the reasons why the early church depended to some extent on the prevailing popular household ethics. But, it cannot be overlooked that the haustafeln tradition's submissive ethic is more than an adopted popular pagan ethic with slight Christian alteration. The fundamental theme of the tradition calls for the doing of good. The submissive ethic is best understood in terms of this theme and the theological conviction that the doing of good is a righteous and influential means of having a Christian witness. This theological conviction may have led the early church to adopt an attitude of submission to the prevailing norms of civic and domestic life as the church sought a positive Christian witness in society. This presents one reason why the church turned to the popular household codes for arranging their social ethics.

## B. Evaluation.

The conclusions of these chapters are to be evaluated in view of the tasks of this thesis. This thesis has set out to accomplish three tasks, two of which are incorporated in the chapters of the above summary:<sup>7.</sup> to identify the Greek and Jewish elements of the haustafeln tradition, and to define the meaning of submission in the haustafeln tradition.

From the above evidence it may be concluded that the haustafeln tradition is mainly composed of Jewish material in a familiar form of popular Stoic ethics. Of course, it is difficult in any study to define the popular oral tradition behind the literary texts. It cannot be assumed that the popular ethics behind the haustafeln tradition are closer to the New Testament haustafeln than to the Stoic codes, as Weidinger has done. The Stoic codes are more concise and elementary, without elaboration and development found in the New Testament haustafeln. It would seem as though these more simple Stoic codes would be closer to an oral popular code than the more complex haustafeln. Once this is accepted, it becomes clear that the haustafeln tradition only resembles the popular Stoic codes in terms of similar subject matter, i.e. household ethics, and some formal elements. Even the haustafeln tradition moves away from the form of the popular Stoic ethics by adding a nominative of address for each class of people, specific instructions and motives, and including reciprocal obligations. Besides the similar subject matter

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7.) The third task is taken up in the following chapter.

and the general tenor of the popular codes, which calls for respect towards the social norms, the popular Stoic ethics have little in common with the haustafeln tradition. All that remains is a similar form of listing the sequence of duties in an order of descending importance. The early church used this order of duties as a form for listing the Christians' social obligations. But the real content of the tradition, the instructions and motives, is derived from Jewish sources.

Of the Jewish material the most fundamental theme is the doing of good. The theme occurs as the main teaching in the general instructions and as a theme of submission in the instructions for adult subordinates. It is of particular interest that the theme appears in the haustafeln tradition with the same motives that accompany the theme in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Sermon on the Mount. The idea of the doing of good bringing a change in one's adversary and "making room" for the judgment of God seems to be a Christian re-working of Jewish material, which is found in the Proverbs. It seems likely that both these motives of the tradition accompanied the basic theme of the doing of good, because both the motives are found to accompany the theme of the doing of good in other Jewish and Christian literature. It is noteworthy that the theme of the doing of good is present in the instructions for the subordinates which suggests that the haustafeln tradition was concerned with the behavior of subordinates who were living under adverse circumstances. Christian citizens, wives and slaves began to ask what they should do in relation to higher authorities who were



non-Christians --especially since they have come to recognize the authority of the Lord. Submission through the doing of good seems to have been the immediate answer which was developed into the haustafeln code. Thus the central teaching of submission in the haustafeln tradition is not merely a repetition of a conventional social norm for subordinates but a Christian teaching with Jewish roots.

The meaning of the submissive ethic for subordinates has been defined according to the background of the doing of good, the instructional themes in the haustafeln tradition and the expansion of the tradition by the individual authors. From this approach it has been concluded that the submissive ethic for subordinates entails non-retaliation, an active Christian witness among non-Christians and the combination of this Christian witness with the prevailing social norms. Concerning the meaning of submission in the light of the Jewish background to the doing of good leads to the conclusion that the submissive ethic already existed in Judaism. It is a teaching of non-retaliation in the teachings of Jesus and what is suspected to be Christian teachings in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The idea of submission through the doing of good therefore does not stand alone in early Christian teachings as a social ethic in the haustafeln tradition. The submissive ethic may be viewed as an extension of the non-retaliatory doing of good, which is taught in the Sermon on the Mount, into the sphere of social ethics. Only when this submission is understood in relation to its broader Christian and Jewish context is it properly understood.



## VIII EPILOGUE: THE SUBMISSIVE ETHIC FOR THE CHURCH TODAY

The third task of this thesis is the interpretation of the submissive ethic for the present-day church. The meaning of the submissive ethic to the church today is all-important if the haustafeln texts are to be taken as relevant scripture for contemporary Christian ethics. Furthermore, unless the study of the background and the meaning of the haustafeln in the New Testament are interpreted for the guidance of the present-day church, this entire study is of little value or service to the contemporary church. This chapter attempts to relate what the haustafeln meant to the early church to what the haustafeln mean (or could mean) to the church today. Only general suggestions can be offered, because various situations and complications arise in interpreting any scripture for a specific contemporary setting. Therefore, the limitations of the submissive ethic are first considered, and then the application of the submissive ethic is discussed.

The basis of what the submissive ethic means for the church today is the meaning it had to the New Testament church. The meaning of the submissive ethic for the New Testament church has already been discussed in Chapter VI under three headings: non-retaliation, a means of change and a combination of obedience to social customs with Christian action. As mentioned above, this submissive ethic is limited to the submission of subordinates to superiors. In other words, this chapter discusses the narrow sense of the submissive ethic

as it is defined in the context of the tradition.<sup>1.</sup>

#### A. The Limitations of the Submissive Ethic.

If the haustafeln tradition does not give a set of answers to all the questions relating to various social relationships, it must be remembered that the New Testament writers were presenting a tradition of practical precepts rather than dealing exhaustively with a set of problems from a theological point of view. (i.) The haustafeln tradition does not work from a set of theological pre-suppositions and deduce a comprehensive set of rules for every circumstance. The haustafeln are composed of general precepts to which are attached several different motives or reasons why Christians should be subordinate to the recognized authorities. It has been widely acknowledged that these precepts are the socially acceptable ethics of the day and that they did not arise from some general theological truths. Just as the Stoics incorporated the popular ethics into their ethical philosophy and gave them Stoic motives, so the Christians incorporated the popular ethics into their social ethics and gave them Christian motives. (ii.) The haustafeln are limited to ethics regarding the relationship of subordinates and

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1.) Käsemann, op. cit., pp. 207f., does not interpret submission by defining "submission" in the context of Romans 13:1-7 or any larger literary context. He believes that Paul chose the imperative "be submissive" because of the root meaning of the word. This root meaning is important for his interpretation of submission in the Romans 13:1-7 passage.

superiors, except for the general instructions for all the Christians. There are no specific rules concerning the relationship of equals within society, e.g. a master to a master or a slave to a slave, or any similar co-lateral relationship. (iii.) The haustafeln usually contain precepts for personal relationships and not relations between persons and institutions. The possible exceptions are I Peter 2:18 for Christians to be subject to every "human institution" and Romans 13:1-7 for Christians to submit to the ἐξουσία. But the haustafeln passages following these texts clearly instruct Christians in personal relationships within institutions of the Roman state, slavery and marriage. Wherever submission is mentioned as a means of change, it is meant to change the persons involved rather than the institutions to which the Christians are subject. (iv.) The haustafeln direct how Christians should act within a specific secular, social structure of the first century. The Romans state, the ancient custom of marriage and the Graeco-Roman system of slavery are the background to these precepts, which were addressed to Christians living under these social structures. It is questionable whether the New Testament writers would have written different precepts if the historical conditions were different. At least these haustafeln precepts cannot be assumed to be valid "for all times and conditions".<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the haustafeln were precepts for personal relationships between subordinates and superiors within a certain epoch of history and time-bound institutions.

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2.) A. Alexander, The Ethics of St. Paul, Glasgow, Maclehose, 1910 takes this interpretation for the duties of the members of the household in the New Testament letters.

In view of these limitations it must be recognized that the haustafeln code of ethics cannot be directly applied to the Christian's relationships today. The Christian today has a different set of social relationships and different social norms within the same relationships mentioned in the haustafeln. The slave-master relationship no longer has a place in the social relationships of the present day, and the civic and marital standards of behavior are not the same as they were under the Roman state and the ancient customs of marriage. Any attempt to extract a workable, contemporary theory of social ethics from a set of theological presuppositions in the haustafeln risks misrepresenting the haustafeln. The haustafeln were not intended to provide a set of theological presuppositions from which one could derive such a social theory of Christian action. If we are prepared to learn from the haustafeln, we must recognize the qualities of action set forth in the haustafeln which the early Christians considered to be essentially Christian and implement those qualities in present-day Christian social ethics.

#### B. The Application of the "Submissive Ethic".

This thesis has drawn attention to the qualities or aspects of the "submissive ethic" for subordinates. There appear to be at least three aspects of the "submissive ethic" which provide a basis for understanding the meaning of submission for today: non-retaliation, influential action and the combination of obedience to social norms with Christian action. These qualities or aspects are features of submission by the doing of good, which is a fundamental theme in



the instructions for subordinates.

Non-retaliation may be thought of as a quality of submission and the Christian's non-violent response to the evils of his world while maintaining a clear Christian conscience, cf. Romans 13:5. Submission by the doing of good precludes any violent reactions to evil acts commanded or administered by secular authorities: civic powers, husbands and masters. It may even be a manner of treating the outlaw citizen who offends the Christian by disobeying the law of the state. The non-retaliating Christian does not break the civil law or social custom with acts of violence, but keeps a clear conscience before authorities and God, who approves what is good. In this sense the haustafeln touch upon the problem of the Christian trying to live in two kingdoms, the kingdom of God and the kingdom of this world. The haustafeln may not specifically focus on this problem, but neither is the problem eclipsed by an anticipation of the imminent end of the world.

This non-violent behavior is not to be interpreted as passive behavior. Non-retaliation is both non-violent and positive Christian action. It is non-violent in that it does not repay violence with violence or evil with evil. It rather does good in the place of revenge, thus commanding the respect of even non-Christians. This positive Christian action is not explicitly defined in the haustafeln tradition in terms of particular acts<sup>3</sup>, but is implied by the tradition and the New Testament writers to be action which does not



offend the Christian's conscience and impress even pagans as praiseworthy good deeds. These good deeds done by the Christian are as undeserved by the recipient as God's grace is undeserved by the Christian (cf. Titus 2:11; 3:1-8). In this sense the Christian's non-violence is not passive behavior but positive Christian action exemplifying the Grace of God in Christ.

The second aspect of the submissive ethic is that it is a means of influencing the non-Christian. The haustafeln do not consider the possibility of the Christian changing the institutions under which he is a subordinate, but the possibility of changing the behavior of the superiors under whom he lives in the household. The change brought about by the doing of good is to take place through personal daily relationships in the home. The New Testament letter of Philemon gives a case study of how the doing of good by a slave (and Paul) may have had a personal effect on a master. The run-away slave, Onesimus, returns to his master, Philemon, with the intention of apologizing for his crime and offering service to him as a Christian brother. Paul's accompanying letter to Philemon says that Paul could command Philemon what is "required" (ἀνῆκον), cf. Colossians 3:18; Romans 13:5, but chooses instead to persuade Philemon as a brother Christian to accept Onesimus as a Christian. Perhaps Paul is referring to the haustafeln rule for masters to treat their slaves justly and fairly by mentioning ἀνῆκον. By all standards

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3.) The doing of good may mean different acts for different people. The closest definition in the tradition is contained in the instruction for women's action and dress.

of practice under Graeco-Roman slavery, Philemon could require Onesimus' punishment. Philemon is under no obligation to receive his run-away slave as a brother. However, by the very act of returning to Philemon as a fellow Christian, Onesimus is in a position to do good to his rightful superior, who may choose to take revenge against Onesimus. If Onesimus returned and followed Paul's counsel, he probably changed Philemon's attitude towards Onesimus and other slaves.

The haustafeln suggest that the doing of good will have an influence on superiors, but the early Christians may have questioned this (cf. I Corinthians 7:16). One cannot guarantee that the repayment of good for evil will influence a superior. The good repaid, it may be argued, will only reinforce the evil behavior patterns of the superior. It is possible that the writer of I Peter anticipated this question and answered with reference to the suffering servant, Jesus. The haustafeln passage for slaves in I Peter puts no restraints on the amount of good works the slave should render to his master even if the slave sees no immediate beneficial results. The slave's suffering for the doing of good meets with God's approval, as did the righteous suffering of Jesus. Therefore, the slave is to follow Jesus' example and suffer even to death for the doing of good, with the hope that his righteous suffering will influence the master at some future date (cf. I Peter 2:12). The example of Jesus' sufferings applies to all Christians in the general instructions of I Peter (cf. I Peter 3:13ff.).

The concept of the Christian as an agent of change through the doing of good may bring a needed balance to the contemporary church's understanding of Christian social ethics. Discussions on Christian social ethics today are usually concerned with the change of social structures in an attempt to secure human and civil rights. Generally speaking, the rights of the oppressed become the primary goal to be obtained. The haustafeln, on the contrary, are concerned with the right behavior of the subordinates who are unable directly to change their social structure. As a means of change, the submissive ethic is not concerned with the alteration of social structures or with the attainment of the Christian subordinate's rights, but the conversion and betterment of the unjust oppressor. The submissive ethic requires the subordinate not to act as God's agent of justice against unjust authorities but to continue to do good deeds which will bring the oppressor to a sense of contrition for his evil. This perspective keeps the Christian subordinate from a self-righteous satisfaction and focuses on the oppressor's need of God's Grace. If that Grace is represented through the subordinate's doing of good, the subordinate is both an agent of change and an agent of Grace.

The third aspect of the submissive ethic is the combination of obedience to social norms with an active Christian witness, which raises the question of how far the Christian today should adopt social norms of behavior as "Christian". This thesis has emphasized the Palestinian Jewish elements in the haustafeln tradition, but

this is not to deny the presence of conservative social ethics of a Graeco-Roman society embodied in the haustafeln tradition. Submission means the doing of good (which may bring about change in a superior) but it also means supporting the social structure and following status quo behavioral patterns for subordinates. Inherent in this submissive ethic is the tension between doing good and following the accepted behavior for subordinates. It is conceivable that the doing of good may not mean following the command of a superior when the superior commands what is evil. If the Christian subordinate is ordered to do something that offends his Christian conscience, the haustafeln teach him to do good in response to the evil commanded or administered by an authority. By the doing of good the subordinate is submitting to the superior but not strictly obeying him. For example, a wife or a servant may be commanded to expose and kill a female infant, but the subordinate chooses to preserve the infant's life by doing good in response to the evil commanded by the superior. Of course, the Christian subordinate does this with the full realization that his action may be punished. He accepts his suffering for the doing of good as his Lord suffered for righteousness' sake. He does not yield to the temptation of taking revenge against the superior for the suffering he bears, but hopes that even his suffering for righteousness' sake will have an influence on the superior. This is the teaching for slaves and for all Christians in the haustafeln of I Peter. Strict obedience is following the will of the superior and the socially accepted norms of behavior regardless of the nature of the commands. Submission is the



doing of good according to the Christian's conscience which may not always be interpreted as strict obedience to the superior's command. Therefore, the extent to which Christians should follow the popular social norms of the day or the commands of the socially recognized authorities depends on whether such obedience complies with submission by the doing of good. This interpretation takes into account the possibility of the Christian disobeying the Roman authorities if these authorities offend the conscience of the Christians and command them to do evil, cf. Revelation 17. In present day circumstances a conscientious objector may follow the submissive ethic by refusing military orders and offering other kinds of service to the government by the doing of good. Whatever the circumstances, the haustafeln submissive ethic does not resolve the tension of choosing between what is demanded by the authorities in society and what is demanded by the Christian's conscience to do good. It remains for the individual or church to choose in which way one should be disobedient and return good deeds for evil deeds in seeking to be submissive to the socially recognized authorities and obedient to his Lord.

In conclusion, the submissive ethic teaches the contemporary church a non-violent and non-retaliatory means of bringing change while still respecting prevailing norms of behavior and socially recognized authorities. (i.) Non-retaliatory action excludes any violent revenge and exemplifies the Grace of God, who has not dealt with men in wrath but in the compassion of Christ. (ii.) By submissive action the Christian focuses his concern upon the oppressor's



need of repentance and God's Grace and seeks to bring change as an agent of this Grace through the doing of good. (iii.) The Christian's submissive action respects the social norms of behavior and the authority of those superior to him and only deviates from these norms or disobeys the superiors by returning good when evil is demanded. This perspective of Christian social action within the existing structure of society gives guidance for Christians today in their attempt to be influential for good within the structure of their society while acknowledging the presence of injustice in that society.

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Note: see also the abbreviations at the beginning of this thesis.

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